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BURMA, PAST AND PRESENT.

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Albert Fytche

BURMA

PAST AND PRESENT

WITH

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF THE COUNTRY

BY

LIEUT.-GEN. ALBERT FYTCHE, C.S.I.

LATE CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF BRITISH BURMA, AND AGENT TO THE VICEROY AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA.

Ἤδη μὲν πολέων κεκορήμεθ' ἀέθλων.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

MY COUSIN,

ALFRED TENNYSON,

POET LAUREATE,

This Book

IS DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THIS work is written much in the form of an autobiography, and a preface, therefore, is hardly necessary; because, as the author writes principally in the first person, he explains as he goes along what otherwise would have been expressed in a preface. A few preliminary remarks, however, appear somewhat desirable, not by way of preface, but of apology.

The author chose this form for several reasons. He has been writing as much for friends as for the general public. The *past* history of Burma has been gleaned from ancient Burmese chronicles and old Portuguese historians; but in writing of Burma of the *present*, he has been anxious to tell what he could of the country and its people from his own personal experiences, and to carry his readers with him through his career in India and Burma. Possibly he has been a little ambitious that his career should not be altogether unknown to his fellow-countrymen.

Now that the book is about to be published, he is inclined to regret that he did not give his information in a more abstract form. He has been betrayed into saying so much of himself, that he fears he has laid himself open to a charge of egotism. Indeed, he is not sure that the charge would be altogether without foundation.

The fact is, that an autobiography is a delicate task. It is pleasant and easy to write, but too seductive to the writer; its very nature is egotistical. The author can only express a hope that, as it is easy writing, so it may prove easy reading.

He humbly trusts as,

"Laudator temporis acti
Se puero,"

he may not have made himself too offensively the "darling theme of contemplation," and that his literary anatomists may not find for their lashes a "knot of scorpions in *every* page."

ALBERT FYTCHE.

PYRGO PARK, HAVERING-ATTE-BOWER, ESSEX,
March, 1878.

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BURMA, PAST AND PRESENT.

CHAPTER I.

FAMILY REMINISCENCES OF INDIA.

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I LANDED in India as a young Ensign in 1839; I left it as Chief Commissioner of British Burma in 1871. With the exception of two years at starting, and a few occasional intervals, I spent the whole of this period of thirty-two years in the province of British Burma. My experiences are therefore chiefly confined to Burma; and Burma and its people are the main subject of the present volume. As, however, I propose dealing with this subject in the form

somewhat of an autobiography, rather than as an abstract work, I may be pardoned if I occasionally turn aside to glance at the current of affairs in India, or indulge in other reminiscences which may possibly prove of interest to general readers.

When I embarked for India in 1839, I was scarcely eighteen years of age; the world around seemed equally as young. A youthful Princess had been crowned Queen of the British Isles only a few months before. My fellow-passengers were nearly all young. One of them, a boy of sixteen, was destined to be famous in Indian annals. His name was John Nicholson. He lived to become the demi-god of the Sikhs; the daring soldier who fell at the storming of Delhi in 1857.

Again, in 1839 the era of peace seemed to be passing away. The war spirit was abroad in Central Asia and China. Pottinger had compelled Persia to raise the siege of Herat. A British force was already on the march for Kandahar and Ghuzni. Hostilities were about to begin in the Chinese seas. In going to India, therefore, I was not without hopes of taking a part in the progress of events which might occupy a lasting place in history.

In the present day, India is regarded in a very different light to what it was in 1839. It can be reached in three weeks, and can be traversed in a few months. It has been brought under the direct

rule of the British crown, and is the greatest dependency of the British Empire. To use the language of Lord Beaconsfield, "Great Britain has become an Asiatic power." In 1839 India was remote, obscure, and semi-independent. It was under the immediate administration of the Court of Directors of the East India Company of merchants; was only loosely connected with the constitutional government of the British Empire, and rarely subjected to Parliamentary interference or control. Its shores were only reached after a voyage of six months or thereabouts.

Those who left England for India, regarded the embarkation almost as a life-long separation from their family; as an interminable exile from their native land.* Moreover, the Anglo-Indians of

An illustration of the feelings with which a family regarded the departure of one of its members to India, will be found in the following lines. They were addressed to my late mother by my cousin, Charles Tennyson, the brother of the Poet Laureate. Since then, Charles Tennyson has taken the name of Turner.

"ON THE DEPARTURE OF ALBERT FYTCHE FOR INDIA BY THE SHIP 'MARQUIS CAMDEN.'—ADDRESSED TO HIS MOTHER. *March 9th*, 1839.

"To India's bright and sunny skies
The youngest of the house hath gone;
His belt and scarlet garb is on,
And laurels he hath not yet won
Are blooming in his mother's eyes.

"But will she quit him thus? Confide
In records of her thought alone
To feed her yearning heart upon?
No livelier trace of her sweet son,—
The high in heart, the hazel-eyed.

those days stood on a very different footing to the Anglo-Indians of the present decade. Most of those who had passed a large portion of their lives in India, were only familiar with particular Presidencies or localities. Calcutta people rarely went to Bombay; Madras people seldom went to Calcutta. Only a few political officers, like Sir John Malcolm and others of his stamp, were sent on duty to all parts of India, and were thus enabled to become acquainted with India as a whole.

I had always a desire for an Indian career. Two men of my name and family had been associated with India at critical periods of her history. Ralph Fitch explored India and Burma in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, about 1583-91. He is said to have been the first Englishman on record, who travelled through India and Burma. Certainly, his travels preceded by some years the formation of the late East India Company.

Another ancestor named William Fytche was

"Nay—though than mother's memory
There cannot be a stronger light,
And though it bides for ever bright,
And sees with a delightful sight
Her absent darling on the sea.—

"Yet painting is a wizard power,
And ere the billows washed his prow,
She put in force her tender vow
To trust him with those eyes, that brow,
And then she better brooked the parting hour."

CHARLES TENNYSON.

President of the English settlement at Calcutta in 1752, just four years before the tragedy of the Black Hole. Each in his turn was a representative man of his time; Ralph Fitch opened up India and Burma as they were in the reign of the Emperor Akbar; the period of William Fytche furnishes a halting ground, on which to take a view of Bengal as it was in the old commercial days, before the late East India Company aspired after dominion and sovereignty. It will be my endeavour, hereafter, to bring my own humble experience to bear upon Burma; to add, if possible, to the stock of knowledge already available regarding that interesting country and its people.

Ralph Fitch was a merchant of London. He was associated with another London merchant, named Newbone. The two were accompanied by a jeweller named Leedes, and an artist named Storie. All four were sent out to the East at the charge of two rich citizens of London—Sir Edward Osborne, and Mr. Richard Staper. In those days the English had no direct trade with India; they had no ships sailing round the Cape of Good Hope. The whole of the trade between Europe and the East Indies was monopolized by the Portuguese. Dutch adventurers were beginning to appear in the Eastern seas. They were treated by the Portuguese as interlopers of the worst kind; as pirates that

might be attacked, plundered, and destroyed wherever they were to be found. Merchant ships of other countries that dared to venture round the Cape were often treated in like manner.

Ralph Fitch published a narrative of his travels. It has been printed in the collection of Hakluyt and others. Ralph Fitch and his companions sailed from London to Syria in an English ship. There they joined a caravan and made their way overland through Western Asia to the Persian Gulf. They next embarked in a native vessel, and sailed through the Gulf to the island of Ormuz. The Portuguese were masters at Ormuz. The governor of the island arrested the English adventurers, and kept them for some time as prisoners: he then sent them to Goa to be dealt with by the Viceroy of Portuguese India. The Viceroy threw the Englishmen once again into prison. Storie, the artist, obtained his liberty by becoming a Roman Catholic and joining the College of Jesuits at Goa. Subsequently the three others were allowed to go at large on their procuring personal securities that they would not leave Goa.

In the end, the three had reason to fear that their lives were in danger. They made their escape to the mainland, and wandered through the Dekhan in an easterly direction as far as the city of Golkonda, near the modern town of Hyderabad, the capital of

the Nizam's dominions in the Dekhan. From Golkonda they marched in a northerly direction through Berar and Rajpootana, to the city of Agra, where the Emperor Akbar, *the* "Great Moghul,"* had fixed his Court. At Agra the party broke up. Newbery returned homewards by Lahore, Afghanistan, and Persia. Leedes, the jeweller, entered the service of Akbar, and appears to have settled at Agra. Fitch made his way by boat down the Jumna and Ganges towards the Bay of Bengal. He passed through the ancient cities of Allahabad, Benares, Patna, and Gaur, and visited Cooch Behar.† He then turned south to Orissa, and finally sailed to Burma.

The wanderings of Ralph Fitch in the Indian continent must have extended over many hundreds, if not thousands, of miles. They must have been characterised by extraordinary incidents. He occupied himself, however, chiefly in describing what

* Properly *Mongol*. Moghul is the Persian form of spelling the word, which has been adopted by Europeans. The name Mongol (according to Schmidt) is derived from the word *Mong*, meaning brave, daring, bold, an etymology which is acquiesced in by Dr. Schott. Ssanlug Setzen says it was first given to the race in the time of Jenghis Khan, but it is of much older date than his time, as we know from Chinese accounts. ("Hauworth's Hist. of the Mongol," p. 27.)

† Cooch Behar is one of the most interesting countries in Eastern India. Its history is very obscure, but the manners and usages of the people are very suggestive. Fitch says that the reigning king of Cooch Behar was named Suckel Counse. Colonel Haughton, late Commissioner of the Gooch Behar Division, has kindly furnished me with a Coorsinamah, or genealogical table of the Cooch Behar family, in which this prince appears under the name of Sukladuge or Seela Roy; he was the progenitor of the Durrung branch of the family.

he saw in Indian lands, and the nature and prospects of the Indian trade. He did not trouble himself to relate much of his personal adventures. It may be inferred that he went from place to place in native attire. Indeed, such was the custom amongst all the early English and Dutch travellers, otherwise their presence would have excited attention, and perhaps suspicion, and exposed them to many dangers. He does not relate much regarding the government of the country. Akbar, the great Moghul, reigned over the Punjab and Hindustan; he had not as yet attempted the conquest of the South. The Dekhan was still in the possession of Mussulman Sultans, who were carrying on desultory wars against the Hindu Rajas of the Peninsula. Ralph Fitch met with no other Englishman in India. Probably at this early date the name of Englishman was scarcely known to either Moghuls or Hindus.

It is difficult to avoid lingering over the memory of Ralph Fitch. During the first half of his travels, and down to the time he separated from his companions at Agra, he may have had much suffering; but he also had much consolation. His energy, audacity, and self-reliance were more or less shared by his English associates; still they are none the less amazing. In the present day we steam away for India, surrounded by every comfort and luxury; yet we complain of the motion of the vessel, the

tropical heat, and the short-comings of stewards. In the sixteenth century Ralph Fitch and his party must have endured the same inconveniences under infinitely worse conditions.

The sail up the Mediterranean in an English ship was probably not unpleasant. The caravan route to the Persian Gulf, surrounded by dirty Arabs, stewing beneath the hot sun of Nineveh and Babylon, may have been somewhat unpleasant, but accomplished without much real suffering. The voyage in a native craft down the Persian Gulf, the imprisonment in a suffocating dungeon at Ormuz, the farther voyage from Ormuz to Goa must have been accompanied by pains and privations which may well excite a shudder. The English travellers were confined as prisoners; they were treated as heretics and spies, and were ultimately compelled to fly from Goa in terror of the Inquisition.

The subsequent march from Goa to Golkonda must ever remain an obscure episode in Fitch's narrative. It is, however, certain that amidst all his troubles and perils he always had a kéen eye for business; in fact, he was a living type of the commercial spirit which was abroad in the sixteenth century. He furnished many details of Indian trade which are obsolete now; one may serve as a specimen. The Portuguese at Goa en-

couraged the import of Persian horses. The ship that carried Fitch and his party from Ormuz to Goa likewise carried a hundred and twenty horses. Every ship that transported horses to Goa was permitted to land all her other cargo duty free; any ship that arrived at Goa without horses was obliged to pay an *ad valorem* duty of eight per cent. on the whole of her cargo.

When the English party separated at Agra, Ralph Fitch had to encounter his difficulties alone. Storie the artist had stayed at Goa. It is curious to add, that subsequently he left the Jesuits and married a girl of Goa, half native and half Portuguese. He made himself so useful in painting the churches of the Jesuits and others, that his backslidings were either forgiven or ignored. Leedes the jeweller, and Newbone the merchant, disappear from the story. In what mood Ralph Fitch bade his companions farewell, and made his lone way down the Jumna and Ganges, can only be inferred. No doubt he struck up a certain acquaintance with the natives around him; but at no time does an Englishman feel more the lack of the society of his fellow countrymen than when he is travelling alone in Oriental climes.

There was no want of strange sights to attract the attention. It is evident that Ralph Fitch gazed on the same characteristic scenes that still meet the

eye of the sojourner in India. His boat was one of a fleet of a hundred-and-twenty vessels; they were laden with salt, opium, indigo, lead, carpets, and other commodities. As he glided down the stream he saw the Brahmans performing their mysterious rites, the Hindu women bathing in the river, the men saluting each other with cries of "Rama." At Allahabad he saw naked mendicants; they were common enough in those times, but in the present day they have almost disappeared from India. One monster was half hidden by his hair and beard; his nails were two inches long. At Benares he saw the same bewildering wilderness of temples and idols, thronged with endless crowds of worshippers, which meet the eye at the present day. Lower Bengal was nearly covered with jungle, and so beset with thieves that the jungle was safer than the highway. A great trade, however, was carried on at the different marts on the river; it was duly noticed and recorded by the observant traveller.

He left Bengal for Burma in the month of November 1586, embarking at Hooghly in a small Portuguese vessel, and the first port he touched at was Bassein;* from whence he proceeded by the

* Singular enough, I traversed myself probably the very same route through these creeks while in pursuit of some marauding bands, during the second Burmese war, and was the second Englishman that had done so. At least, there is no record of any other having gone this route during the interval.

inland navigation through the creeks to Rangoon, and Syriam:—thither we shall follow him in a future page.

The account given by Ralph Fitch on his reaching England in April, 1591, of the very great wealth and resources of India, and the lucrative trade established there by the Portuguese, served to quicken the spirit of commercial enterprise, which Queen Elizabeth—sensible how much the defence of her kingdom depended on its naval power—endeavoured, at that time, so much to foster: and shortly after his return, a petition from some of the leading merchants of the City of London was presented to Her Majesty for permission to send three trading vessels to India; but the extreme political caution of Lord Burleigh, and her other ministers, rendered their efforts, for the time, abortive.

Eight years afterwards, however, an influential Association of merchants was formed for developing the trade with the East Indies, and in the following year, 1600, the first patent or charter of incorporation, guarded with most exclusive privileges, the only means according to the ideas of the day, by which extensive mercantile enterprises could be

The passage had become much blocked up from disuse and the banks overgrown with trees, which had to be cleared in many parts before the gun-boats could pass through.

guided to favourable results, was conceded by Queen Elizabeth to the East India Company, granting them the monopoly* of this traffic for fifteen years, if it proved advantageous to the nation; if otherwise, it was liable to be annulled on two years' notice.

Such was the origin of the East India Company, which confined itself to commerce for a hundred and fifty years, and then took up arms in defence of its factories, and in less than a century established British sovereignty from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin, and from Peshawur to the borders of Siam.† The stock of the Company was, at first

* Monopolies and exclusive patents were very rife during Queen Elizabeth's reign, all of which had to be paid for in some shape or other, and it may be inferred that this patent to the East India Company was not given without some consideration. The active reign of Elizabeth had enabled many persons to distinguish themselves in civil and military employments; and the Queen, who was not able, from her revenue, to give them any rewards proportioned to their services, made use of the expedient of granting her servants and courtiers patents for monopolies. She was very averse to having recourse to Parliamentary supplies, imagining that they interfered with her dignity and independence. She was attentive to every profit, and embraced opportunities of gain which may appear somewhat extraordinary in these days. She kept, for instance, the see of Ely vacant nineteen years in order to retain the revenue; and it was usual with her when she promoted a bishop to take the opportunity of pillaging the see of some of its manors. There is a curious letter of the Queen's, written to the Bishop of Ely, and preserved in the register of that see. It is in these words: "*Proud prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement: But I would have you know that I, who made you what you are, can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God, I will immediately unfrock you. Yours, as you demean yourself,* ELIZABETH." The bishop, it seems, had promised to exchange some part of the land belonging to the see for a pretended equivalent, and did so, but it was in consequence of the above letter. Hume's "History of England," vol. v.

† Marshman's "History of India."

starting, seventy-two thousand pounds; and they fitted out a fleet of five ships, with a valuable freight, which they placed under the command of Captain James Lancaster. The expedition returned to England in September, 1603, with a large profit to the adventurers, and encouraged the Company to continue the commerce. A second East India Company was formed in 1698, which was united to the first one by King William III. in 1702, and styled the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

The partial policy of King William III., who favoured his Dutch subjects, tended to discourage the English East India Company from engaging very extensively in the lucrative trade of the great spice and other markets of the Malay Archipelago —which after the decline of the Portuguese power had become almost monopolised by the Dutch— and caused them to turn their chief attention to the continent of India, where, during close upon a century and a half, which followed their first formation, they defended themselves as they best could against the occasional aggressions and exactions of native princes. They had not as yet aspired to political power in India; but they gradually fortified their trading establishments. Every year a fleet of East Indiamen came out to India with such commodities as could be sold to advantage amongst the natives;

every year it returned to England loaded with such merchandize as would command a profitable sale in the old Company's warehouses in Leadenhall.

The year 1746 was an epoch. It was the year of the battle of Culloden. It was the year when the English and French began hostilities in Southern India; when Madras was captured by Labourdonnais, and turned into a French city. In 1746 William Fytche was appointed a member of Council of merchants at Calcutta. In 1749 he was made Chief of the English Factory at Cossimbazaar; the fort and mart of Moorsherabad, which was at that time the native capital of Bengal. In January, 1752, William Fytche* was appointed President† of Fort William; he died of dysentery on 10th August following, at the age of thirty-five. It is a strange coincidence that during that same year of 1752, Warren Hastings was sent from Calcutta to fill a subordinate post at Cossimbazaar.‡ He must have arrived there a few weeks after the departure of William Fytche for Calcutta.

* In those days the rate of exchange was very different from its present lamentable state. From family papers I perceive that William Fytche used to send remittances home to his brother Thomas Fytche of Danbury Place, Essex, by Government Bills of Exchange, drawn at ninety days after sight, at two shillings and fourpence each rupee.

† The heads of Local Government were styled in those days President—hence the word Presidency—which latter term is still in use. Fort William was erected into a Presidency in 1707. It was called Fort William in honour of King William the Third.

‡ For this fact I am indebted to Macaulay's "Essay on Warren Hastings."

The status of the British in India had undergone a vast change between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. In the sixteenth century Great Britain was represented by individual adventurers of the same type as Ralph Fitch. In the seventeenth century the East India Company had established fortified factories at Surat, Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

All the East India Company's servants from the lowest to the highest were lodged and boarded within the walls of the factory. They were divided into the respective grades of apprentices, writers, factors and merchants; they all took their meals together in the old English fashion. All looked forward to promotion in regular routine; the apprentice hoped to rise from grade to grade, until he became a merchant; every merchant looked forward to becoming a member of council, a chief of a subordinate factory, or to the still higher post of governor of the presidency. Every one had his daily duties to fulfil. There were prayers twice a day; three times on Sundays. On Saturday evenings they met to drink to the health of their "sweethearts and wives" whom they had left in England. On Sundays after service they went to a garden-house in the suburbs and "played at shooting at butts." During the Commonwealth manners became more puritanical. After the Restoration there was the same decay in morals, the

same drunkenness and debauchery, that prevailed in England.

In the eighteenth century there was a change; much of the simplicity of the old commercial life had passed away. Only the apprentices, writers, and factors were lodged in the factory; the merchants and higher officers brought out their wives and families from England and dwelt in separate houses. The English settlements grew into cities; sobriety and decorum again became the rule. Captain Hamilton, who visited Calcutta in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, presents a tolerably graphic picture of English society in those days. "Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal," he says, "live splendidly and pleasantly. They devote the forenoon to business; the afternoon to dinner and rest. In the evening they go into the country in chaises and palanquins; or they get into budgerows and row about the river, fishing or fowling. Before night they make friendly visits to each other, excepting when society is spoiled by pride and contention, which too often appear among the ladies, just as discord and faction appear among the men."

William Fytche lived in what may be called a transition period in Indian history. He became a Member of Council, as already stated, in 1746. Eight years before that event, the Moghul Empire had received a mortal blow. Another Jenghis Khan

had appeared in Asia under the name of Nadir Shah,* who seized the Persian throne, and conquered all Central Asia. He captured Delhi, massacred its inhabitants, and carried away the treasures of the

* Nadir Shah is said to have taken off with him from Delhi spoil to the value of £160,000,000, in jewels, gold, and silver, and other precious articles. Amongst this booty was the peacock throne of Shah Jehan, in which was fixed the famous "Mountain of Light," the Koh-i-noor diamond, now one of the English crown jewels. This diamond fell into our possession, together with the other crown jewels of the Punjab, at the close of the Punjab campaign in 1849, was prize property, and presented by the Army to the Queen.

There is a curious story connected with the way this famous diamond fell into the hands of Runjeet Singh, which, together with other matters connected with it, may not be out of place to relate here. On the assassination of Nadir Shah, the diamond passed into the possession of his grandson, Shahrookh Mirza, from whom it was taken by his grandfather's commandant of cavalry, Ahmud Shah Dourani, the founder of the Afghan monarchy. At Ahmud Shah's death, his son, Tymoor Shah, became possessed of it. Tymoor Shah had three sons, Zuman, Dost Mahomed, and Shoojah. The diamond descended to the eldest son; but he was almost immediately dethroned by his younger brother, Dost Mahomed, who had his eyes put out, and demanded the diamond and other jewels from him. Zuman declared that he had thrown them into a river on his brother's pursuit of him. He had, however, concealed the diamond in a crevice of the wall of the dungeon in which he was confined, and subsequently, on his informing Shoojah of it, the latter became possessed of the diamond. Shoojah himself was shortly after driven out of Afghanistan by Dost Mahomed, and on passing through the Punjab to seek an asylum in British territory, he became the guest of Runjeet Singh. Runjeet Singh was aware that the diamond was in Shoojah's possession, but which was denied by him. At last the wily old Rajah tried the starving system on his guest, by gradually reducing his food, and when Shoojah could hold out no longer against it, he gave up the diamond to his hospitable host! He had had the diamond all the time on his person concealed in a ball of opium, and which, in order to draw suspicion from it, he used to hold openly in his hand, and pick off small pieces to eat.

The diamond was first discovered in the seventeenth century near Golconda by a peasant while ploughing his field, and, when found in its rough state, is said to have been the size of a hen's egg. It got into the hands of a Hindu Rajah, from whom it was extorted by the Emperor Aurunzebe. The Hindus believe it to be a most unlucky stone, and to bring certain ruin upon those possessing it. The race of Baber is said to have degenerated from the date it came into their possession, ending, as was the case also with Runjeet Singh's, in the ruin of the family and subjugation of their territories. Runjeet Singh, in order to avert the evil spell from his race, bequeathed the diamond to the

Empire. The Moghul Empire, which for some time previous to this, had become much weakened by the contentions of the Sunni and Sheah factions, and from other causes operating for its destruction never recovered its prestige. The house of Baber* had

Temple of Juggernaut; but his successors would not give it up. Within a few years after it came into our possession the Sepoy revolt broke out, which nearly ended in the loss of India to the British Crown, and more evils connected with it are said by the natives of India to be still in store for us.

The Rev. C. King, in his history of antique gems, says, that when "Tavernier saw it two centuries ago in the treasury of the Great Moghul at Delhi, its weight in the rough, of about 800 carats (according to report), had been reduced to 284, by the bungling Venetian lapidary who had brought it to the ugly and unskilful form of a rude hemisphere facetted all over, apparently intended for the rose shape." It was in this form, that I saw it myself in the Toshukh Khana at Lahore in 1848, and in which it appeared when brought to this country.

The recutting of it in London was effected by means of a small steam-engine, under the superintendence of two artists brought expressly from Holland, where alone the business is kept up. This operation cost £8,000, and has brought the stone to the form of a perfect brilliant, with a wonderful augmentation of its beauty and lustre; though with a reduction of the weight to 180 carats." The diamond is generally believed to be almost infrangible—"but in reality, from the fact of this gem being composed of thin layers deposited over each other parallel to the original faces of the crystal, it can easily be split by a small blow in direction of these laminæ. The jeweller who was entrusted with the recutting of the Koh-i-noor, was displaying his finished work to a wealthy patron, who accidentally let the slippery and weighty gem slip through his fingers and fall on the ground. The jeweller was on the point of fainting with alarm, and on recovering himself, reduced the other to the same state by informing him that, had the stone struck the floor at a particular angle, it would infallibly have split in two, and been irreparably ruined."

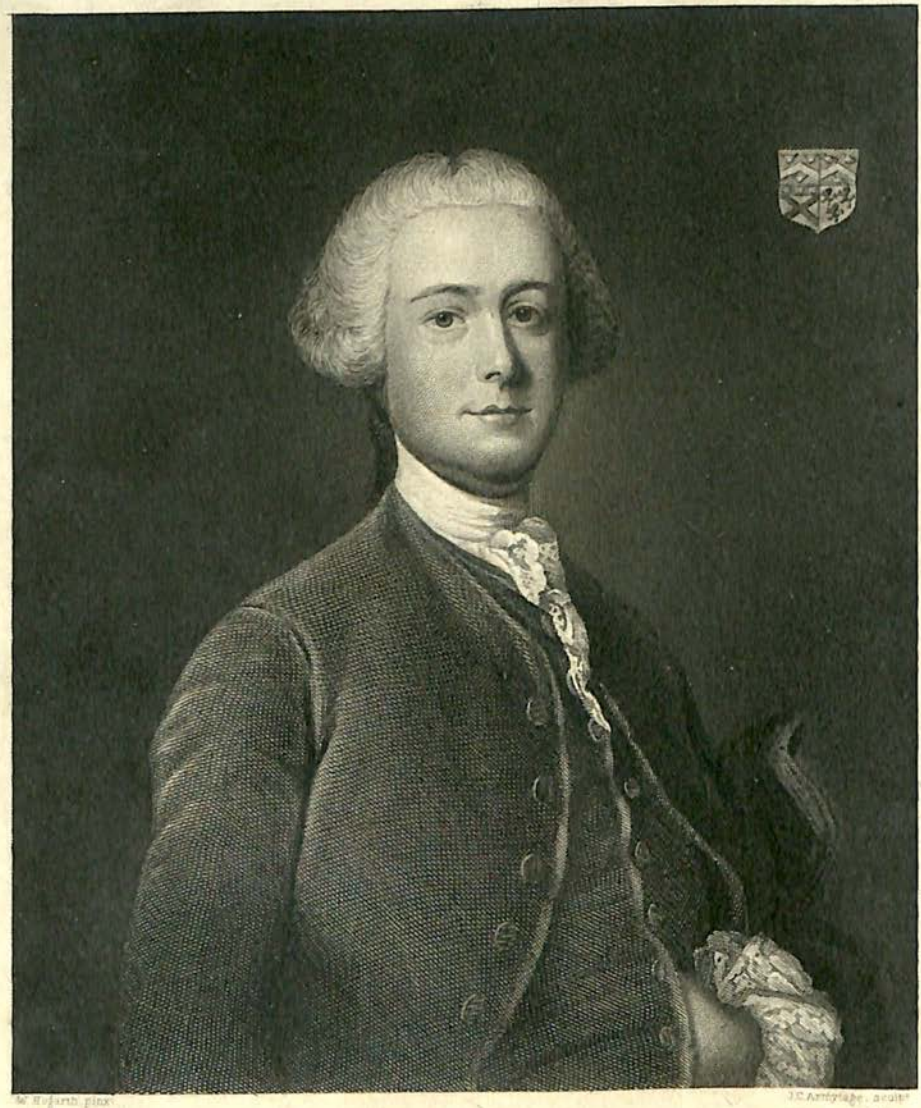
Competent judges declare that the brilliancy of the Koh-i-noor has not been increased to such an extent as to make up for the very serious diminution of weight caused by its recutting. Sir David Brewster is said to have strongly advised its not being recut; but the opinion of a foreign diamond merchant was taken in preference to his.

* Sultan Baber was the sixth in descent from the fierce Timur Beg, known in Europe as Tamerlane; and by the mother's side a descendant of Jenghis Khan. He captured Delhi in April, 1526, and established the so-called Moghul dynasty there, which lasted for one hundred and eighty years.

accomplished the cycle of its existence, and the sceptre of India was about to pass into other hands —the merchant strangers from the West. The great Subahdars or Viceroys of provinces;—such as the Nizam of the Dekhan, the Vizier of Oude, and the Nawab of Bengal (better known as the Nawab of Moorsherabad) had become independent Princes. There was still a show of dependence on the Moghul Court at Delhi. Presents were occasionally sent to Court; insignia of investiture were sent from Court; patents for every post and government were issued, with the seal of the Vizier at Delhi. But this was all empty show; nothing but the shadow of sovereignty remained; the substance of Power was altogether wanting. The government of every province was becoming hereditary in the family of the governor; every Viceroy was assuming the dignity and ceremonial of an independent sovereign, and, as the Mahommedan historian remarks, "beating the drum of independence."

The history of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa during this transition period is little more than a dreary round of Mahratta invasion and Afghan revolts. The Nawabs of Moorsherabad took Afghans into their service to enable them to repel the raids of

"Moghul dynasty," I believe, is a misnomer. Baber was certainly not a Mongol, but belonged to the kindred race of Turks; and it is erroneous to style him and his descendants Mongols.



W.m Hogarth. pinx.t J.C. Armytage. sculp.t

Wm Hyde

the Mahrattas. The Afghan officers often grew rebellious and refractory. Sometimes they became dangerous servants; at others they became the victims of treachery and assassination. It would be sheer waste of time to reduce such obscure events to the form of a narrative. Allah Verdi Khan, Nawab of Moorsherabad, died 1756. He was succeeded in his government, or sovereignty, by his nephew Suraj-ood-dowlah. How Suraj-ood-dowlah captured Calcutta four years after the death of William Fytche; how 131 Englishmen were stifled to death in the "Black Hole" at Calcutta on one dreadful night in June; are facts which still live in the memory of the British nation. They belong to the general history of British India.

A portrait of William Fytche was painted by Hogarth; it has been preserved in the family.* It was not taken from life, but was painted from a sketch taken in Bengal, and a portrait by a native artist. The picture is suggestive. It is difficult to look at it without thinking what a part William Fytche might have played in the subsequent history of India, had he not been cut off by that cruel dysentery, which is the curse of Bengal. He was

* The picture is now in my possession. See engraving of it on opposite page. It is doubtless a good likeness, as it strongly resembles a larger picture of his brother Thomas, painted by Hudson about the same period. This latter picture is in the possession of Mr. Edgar Disney, of the Hyde, Ingatestone, an ancestor of whom married William Fytche's daughter.

succeeded by Roger Drake. When Suraj-ood-dowlah invested Calcutta, Roger Drake declared he was a quaker, and escaped on board a ship with the ladies. The costume of William Fytche shows that he was no quaker. I may be permitted to believe that had William Fytche been President of Calcutta in 1756, Suraj-ood-dowlah would have returned to Moorsherabad at a much earlier date than is recorded in history. I am also inclined to believe that there would have been no "Black Hole" tragedy, although possibly there might have been a battle of Plassey.

It was in 1839, more than eighty years after the affair of the "Black Hole," that I landed at Calcutta. The British Government had by this time become the paramount power. Lord Auckland was Governor-General of India. The expedition into Afghanistan, which occupied Cabul in August, 1839, was as yet regarded as a great success. I would have gladly followed it to Cabul; as it was, I was sent to do duty with the 69th Regiment of Native Infantry at Berhampore. Strange enough Berhampore was the military station near Moorsherabad. I was thus in the neighbourhood of Cossimbazaar, where William Fytche had been Chief of the English Factory.

I was shortly after posted to the 70th Regiment at Sylhet, and after a few months there, accom-

panied my regiment to Lucknow, where the Nawab Vizier was reigning under the title of King of Oude. Sir John Low was then British Resident at Lucknow; Sir Richmond Shakespear was his Assistant. Cantonment life in those days was inexpressibly tedious to young officers who wanted active employment. There was the usual round of entertainments at the Palace, as well as at the Residency. A pack of hounds was kept up by my regiment, and showed good sport; but there were pursuits in India more congenial than even a run with the hounds.

Rumours were afloat that a war was impending with the King of Burma. I was eager for active service in any direction. I applied for employment to Sir Jasper Nicholls, who was at that time Commander-in-Chief of the Bengal Army. I soon got what I wanted. I was sent off to Burma, and ordered to do duty with the Arakan Local Battalion. The British force in Arakan was being strengthened. It was expected from day to day that the British Government would be forced into hostilities with the Burma Sovereign.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF BURMA.

Geographical position of Burma.—Extent of British territory in Burma in 1841.—Territories of the King of Burma.—Burma in ancient times split up into a number of petty Kingdoms.—Site of Capital frequently changed.—Talaing and Burmese dynasties.—Burmese Chronicles unreliable.—Portuguese historians of Burma.—Position of Portugal in the East at the commencement of 16th century.—Red Sea and Persian Gulf ancient trade route with the East.—Conquest of Goa and Malacca by the Portuguese.—The King of Toung-oo then the dominant power in Burma.—The Portuguese appear in Burma and assist the Talains.—Defeat of the Talains and conquest of Pegu by Branginoco.—Conquest of Martaban and Prome.—Atrocities committed there by Branginoco.—Invasion of Siam.—Revolution in Pegu.—Death of Branginoco.—Xenim proclaims himself King.—Iniquities of Diego Suarez and his violent death.—Death of Xenim.—Zemindoo ascends the throne.—Zemindoo deposed by Meng-tara-gyee.—Zemindoo betrayed and beheaded.—Shimiti Shah King of Arakan.—Philip de Brito.—Treachery of Shimiti Shah.—Syriam besieged and captured by King of Ava.—Horrible death of Philip de Brito.—Career of Sebastian Gonzales de Tibao.—King of Arakan conquers a portion of Lower Bengal.—Bernier's account of Lower Bengal and Arakan.—Sultan Soojah takes refuge with the King of Arakan.—He attempts to seize the country.—His failure and death.—Alompra.—British Government first brought into political relationship with the Kings of Burma.—Shembuan.—Chinese invasions of Burma.—Reign of Bhoda Phra.—Founds a new Capital.—Talaing insurrection.—Conquest of Arakan.—Threatens to subdue Siam.—Affects to be a Buddha.—His death.—His grandson Phagyi-dau succeeds to the throne.—The first Burmese war of 1824-26.—Phagyi-dau deposed and confined by Tharawadi.—Tharawadi ascends the throne.

AFTER my first arrival in India, and down to the year 1857, I kept a daily journal with a view to future publication. In 1857 my house in Bassein was burnt down; my journal was destroyed, and I

never had the heart to resume it. I continued, however, to collect historical and other materials with the hope of ultimately preparing a work for the press.

I propose devoting the present chapter to sketches of the history of Burma, from the earliest period of which there is any authentic record down to the time I arrived in Arakan. I have not attempted to draw up chronological annals. I have simply selected such incidents and scenes as seemed likely to interest English readers; inasmuch as they serve to bring out the real character of the people of Burma, and the true nature of Burma rule.

Burma, including the present British possessions, occupies, in the most extensive use of the term, a considerable portion of the great peninsula which lies to the eastward of India. This peninsula is separated from India by the Bay of Bengal. In some respects it corresponds to India. It forms the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, whilst India forms the western side. It includes Burma on the north and west, and Siam on the east and south of Burma. Eastward of both Burma and Siam, there is a large nondescript territory, including part of China, as well as Laos, Cochin China, Tonqueen and Cambodia. The southern part of the peninsula belongs chiefly to Siam, with the exception of our stations of Penang and Singapore, and a few small Malay States. It is not rounded off like India at

Comorin, but tapers away to a narrow strip of promontory towards the island of Sumatra.

When I was posted to Arakan in 1841, the British territories, in that direction, were confined to two long and narrow strips of land on the coast of the Bay of Bengal; namely, Arakan on the north, and Tenasserim on the south. Arakan extended from the river Nâf, the frontier of Bengal, southwards to Pagoda Point, at the mouth of the Bassein river. It intervened between the Bay of Bengal and the territories of the King of Burma, from which it was divided by the watershed of the Yomatoung range of mountains. Tenasserim extended on the north from the Thoung-yeen river to the well-defined line of the Pak-chan river on the south; the coast-line on the west, to the embouchure of the Salween river, including the islands of the Archipelago, and that of Beloo-gyoon opposite Maulmain, with the line of the Salween, northward to the mouth of the Thoung-yeen river; and on the eastern side a boundary, supposed to be formed by the Central* ranges dividing the watershed, separated it from the kingdom of Siam.

The territories of the King of Burma comprised, with the exception of a few small quasi-independent hill States, the whole territory between Arakan on

* These ridges of hills have, as yet, received no recognised geographical names by which to characterise them.

one side, and China and Siam on the other. On the north it was bounded by Bengal, Thibet, and China; on the south it included the basins of the Irawadi* and Sittang rivers, and a portion, also, of the Salween river. The northern region was known as Ava; and had a city named Ava for its capital. The southern region was called Pegu, whose chief town and port was Rangoon. The people of Ava were known as Burmese, properly so called. The inhabitants of Pegu, who had sprung from a different though cognate stock, were known as Talaings.

The history of Burma resembles, somewhat, the history of India without a Mahommedan invasion. From the remotest period, it has been politically split up into a number of petty kingdoms, or rather principalities, in many respects analogous to that of the Dukedoms of Germany and Italy in the Middle Ages, and which were constantly at war with each other. Sometimes one or other gained the mastery, and became the paramount power. Every kingdom was liable to be overthrown, at any moment, by a rebellion from within, or an invasion from without. The Burmese kings claim to be descended from an old Aryan clan; the tribe of Sakyas,† the family to

* The word Irawadi is derived from Airawata, the elephant of India.

† The Sakya tribe is alleged in Buddhistic sacred books to be descended from the princes Thamadat, who were elected to hold supreme power at the moment the words *meum* and *tuum* began to be heard and understood among men, after they had eaten the rice called Tsalé, and become subject to passions, that

which Guatama, the last Buddha, belonged; and the earliest date in Burmese history, or rather in the story which the Burmese mix up with their own, appears to be the year 691 B.C., the grand epoch fixed by Anjana, King of Kapilavastu,* the grandfather of Guatama, and in the sixty-eighth year of which epoch, Guatama was born. Guatama is the name by which the last Buddha is usually known to southern Buddhists;† and that of Sakya-muni, the

is to say, at the origin of society, in the beginning of the world. The present King of Burma affects to be very proud of his ancient lineage, and often speaks of his ancestors the princes Thamadat!—See "Bigandet," p. 167.

* Called by the Burmese Kap-pi-la-wot, and is supposed to have been situated on the river Rohini, the modern Kohana, about midway between Benares and the foot of the Himalaya range of mountains. Other authorities place the city on the left bank of the Gogra, direct north of Benares. The city was a heap of ruins when visited by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian, about 435 A.D., and the country around it a desert. The object of Fa Hián's pilgrimage to India was to visit the places rendered famous by the birth, life, doctrines, and teachings of Guatama, and to collect and take back with him to China all books connected with the religion he taught. Sir Arthur Phayre, in his Paper on the history of the Burma race, published in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," 1864, mentions some of the ancient Indian and Sakyan customs still observed by the present Burmese royal family. Among these are the marriages of half-brothers with half-sisters, a practice which does not exist in any other family of the kingdom; the ceremonial called abeit-theik, or pouring out of water on the accession of a new sovereign; preserving unmarried the King's eldest daughter; the figures of a peacock and of a hare, symbolical of the sun and moon, and typifying descent from the solar and lunar races, being painted on the King's throne. For the same reason the figure of a peacock is borne on the royal standard. One of the royal titles is *nê-dwet-bhúyeng*, "sun-descended monarch;" and a title of honour frequently bestowed, even, on foreigners, is that of "Member of the race of the Sun"; while a badge of nobility is the caste-thread of the Brahman and Rajpoot tribes, represented by golden chains worn slung from the left shoulder, across the breast and back, to the right hip. These and some other customs are tenaciously adhered to by the royal family of Burma, *who consider themselves* as ethnologically and religiously descended from the Buddhist kings of Kap-pi-la-wot!

† The southern Buddhists comprise the inhabitants of Burma, Siam, and

Sakya Sage, to northern Buddhists.* He is said to have died, or rather obtained "niebban" or "nirvána"† in his eightieth year, corresponding with 543 B.C. His fatal illness having been aggravated by a surfeit of pork, served him by a hospitable goldsmith.

The assumption of this ancient pedigree by the present Royal family of Burma is, however, entirely without any foundation. They are descended from the obscure hunter Alompra, who usurped the throne of Ava, only a little more than a century ago. The succession of the old line of Kings of Burma, appears to have been exposed to frequent interruptions, and ended finally in 1525 A.D. with Na-ra-pa-ti Shwé-nan-sheng, who was dethroned and killed by the Shan Tsaubwa of Monyeen. In 1544 the Shans were driven out of the kingdom by Branginoco, King of Toungoo, and whose descendants remained Kings of Burma until 1752; when Ava was besieged and captured by Bya-hnoing-tee-yadza, King of Pegu; and the then reigning King Koung-theet Sakya-meng, taken and put to death with his queen and all his family. In the following

Ceylon; and the northern, those of Tibet, Nepal, China, and Japan. The sacred books of the former are written in the Pali language, and of the latter in Sanskrit.

* A brief account of the Buddhist religion, and of the life of Guatama, is given in Chapter XI.

† A full explanation of this term "*niebban*," or "*nirvána*," which literally means *extinction*, will be given hereafter.

year Ava was retaken by Alompra, whose descendants occupy the throne at the present time.

The first mention in Burmese history of a capital city is that of Tagoung, situated on the banks of the Irawadi, some sixty miles below Bhamo, and founded by Abhi-raja about 500 B.C. Afterwards it was at Prome, Pagan,* and Panga; and subsequently at Tsagain, Ava, Toung-oo, Pegu, Amarapúra, and other cities. Once it even threatened to be at the city of Arakan. Accordingly, frequent changes and transformations were occurring; whether in the most remote periods of the country's history, or later on in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, the same internecine feuds appeared to be going on, the same changes to succeed each other in bewildering rapidity. The political kaleidoscope was ever turning round. The countries were still there, but the several sovereignties were jumbled together in new forms.

Traces of ancient wars between India and Burma are to be found both in Hindu and Burmese tradition; as in the Hindu legend of Arjuna's wars against the Daityas, and in the Burmese legend

* There appears to have been an upper as well as a lower Pagan, as capital cities. The ruined site of the former is close to Tagoung. The latter is situated on the banks of the Irawadi in Lat. 21° 12′; the history and present state of the ruins of which have been so ably and graphically described by Colonel Yule in his "Narrative of the Mission to Ava, under Sir Arthur Phayre."

of the wars between the Kuláhs * and the Talaings. Then, again, the Talain dynasty claimed descent from a mother, half woman and half serpent, by a human father invested with superhuman powers. This story finds a parallel in the Munipúri legend preserved in the Mahâbhârata, by which the Rajas of Munipúr † claim to be descended from

* The "Talaing Maha-Radza-Weng," or "Chronicles of the Kings of Pegu," states that Hengtha-wa-dee (the Pali name of the kingdom of Pegu) was first colonised by Kuláhs, who discovered it when returning in their ships from Tho-wanna-bhon-mie; but in 1152 A.D.—shortly after their arrival—they were driven away by Tha-ma-la, son of a *Nâga-ma*, or she-dragon, by a *Weid-dza*, or person possessed of miraculous powers, and who became the first King of Hengtha-wa-dee. After reigning twelve years, he died, and was succeeded by his brother, Wie-ma-la. Ten years after Wie-ma-la's ascent of the throne, the Kuláhs, who had been driven away, returned with seven ships full of fighting men, commanded by a warrior clothed in chain-armour, who was seven cubits in height, and wielded a spear, the shaft of which was seven cubits in length, and the iron head the length of a plantain leaf. This "Goliah" was engaged and killed in single combat by the King's son, A-tha-kon-ma, on which the Kuláhs sailed away. Kuláh means a native of India, or any western foreigner; and these Kuláhs were probably either Persians or Arabs, the latter of whom, it is well known, were acquainted with the monsoons, and from the fourth to the fifteenth century formed commercial establishments in almost every eastern country that had productions to export. The Pathees, or Mahommedan inhabitants of the coast of Burma, are supposed to be descended from these Arab adventurers by native mothers.

It has struck me that possibly this word "Kuláh," given generally to western foreigners by the Talaings and Burmese, may have been taken from the black curled lamb-skin head-dress worn by the Persians and called *Kolah*. Europeans, from their hats, are commonly known as Topi-wallahs in Hindustan. It might, also, have been derived from "Kolar," the name by which India was known in very ancient times, and the Kuláh invaders spoken of may have been Kóls, as there is good reason for supposing, which will be explained in a subsequent chapter, that the Talaing is closely connected with the Kól or Mônda race.

† The religion of Munipúr is ostensibly Hinduism, but snake worship is still in existence there. Dr. R. Brown, in his "Annual Report of the Munipúr Political Agency, 1868-69," quoting from McCulloch, says:—"The Raja's peculiar god is a species of snake called Pakúng-ba, from which the royal family claim descent. When it appears it is coaxed on to a cushion by the priestess in attendance, who then performs certain ceremonies to please it:

Arjuna, the third son in the family of Pându, and a Nâga lady of the same physique as the mother of the Talaings.* It may be in reality a relic of the old Greek legend preserved by Herodotus, that the Scythians were begotten by Hercules upon the serpent-maiden Echidna, who would not restore the horses he had lost, until he had made her his mistress.†

The Burmese carry back their history to a very remote and fabulous antiquity.‡ The Burmese Maha Radza Weng (Chronicles of Kings) commences with describing the self-development of the world, and the appearance of man therein. The system of cosmogony has, together with the Buddhist philosophy and religion, been derived from India. The history contains the Buddhist account of the first formation of human society; the election of a king, and the grant to him of a share of the produce of the soil. These legends constitute to

This snake appears, they say, sometimes of great size, and when he does so it is indicative of his being displeased with something. But as long as he remains of diminutive form it is a sign he is in good humour. Pakúng-ba is a snake by day, and by night assumes the human form. A house is prepared for it, and when it appears the Maibees, or priests, give intimation of it, and all the head-men and most orthodox Hindus, from the Raja downwards, do poojah (worship) before it.

* Maha Bharata, passim.

† Herodotus, iii., c. 108; Pausanias, viii., c. 18.

‡ We borrowed the name Burmese from the Portuguese. Their name in their own language is Byammà. They declare that they are of celestial origin, and descendants of those beings who once occupied the blessed regions of the Rupà. See Sangermano's Cosmography, paras. 34 and 35. I shall have more to say on this subject when treating on the origin of the Burmese race.

this day the foundation of the authority, temporal and spiritual, of the Burmese Kings. The foundation of that authority they continually refer to, and it is ever present to the minds of their subjects.*

It is not until the dawn of the sixteenth century, however, when the Portuguese established themselves at Goa, on the western side of India, and commenced extending their commercial and missionary settlements throughout the Eastern seas, that real historical glimpses can be obtained of the political condition of Burma, and the relation of its several kingdoms towards each other.

Any early condition of Burma, therefore, it appears to me, is best gathered from Portuguese and other European historians, *collated* with Burmese chronicles. The native annals of Burma† are "disin-

* Paper by Sir Arthur Phayre on the history of the Burma race, published in the "Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal," 1864.

† The Reverend Father Sangermano had little faith in ancient Burmese chronicles. What was told him, as follows, by his learned native friend, has often been said to me under similar circumstances. He states in his "Description of the Burmese Empire":—"Even on the origin and progress of the Burmese monarchy, the reader must be prepared to meet nothing in their annals but marvellous tales, mixed up with a very little truth. Before my arrival in India, some missionaries made it their peculiar study to compose a faithful history of the Burmese Kings, but in vain. I myself, while residing in the kingdom of Ava, asked one of the wisest and most learned of the natives, whose intimate friendship I enjoyed, whether there was any book from which I might learn the true history of the founder and perpetuator of the monarchy. He candidly answered that the task was difficult, or rather impossible, and endeavoured to persuade me to give up the study as useless. To satisfy the curiosity of my readers I have, therefore, nothing better to offer them on this subject than an abridgement of the Maha-Radza-Weng, that is, the great history or annals of the Kings. It is only, however, *towards the conclusion of this work that anything like a glimpse of truth appears.*"

tegrated as sand," and when taken by themselves, are of little value in helping English people, who have never been to Burma, to realise the actual state of the country in past times. They abound in strange hyberbolical and fabulous narratives. They are frequently occupied by details which have no interest for European readers, and which are absolutely distasteful and wearisome. In their history of uninterrupted anarchy, bloodshed, and rapine, and legendary achievements of their kings and princes, but little can be gathered of the real condition of the people, and system of government which prevailed; and the "short and simple annals of the poor" are entirely omitted.

No one, who has not pored over the palm leaves upon which Burmese literature is inscribed, can form any conception of the manner in which facts are entangled with fictions, and of their numerous absurdities, inaccuracies, and interpolations. On the other hand, Portuguese and other European historians have drawn some of their statistics from Burmese Chronicles, without testing them by their own knowledge or experience. Armies are reckoned by millions; elephants by tens of thousands. The story of massacre is equally exaggerated; so is the amount of booty acquired by conquerors. It is a difficult task to reduce such heterogeneous materials to a clear and harmonious narrative, and I have

deemed it best to omit from both Burmese and European historians such statistics as are obviously incredible, and to employ only general terms, which, I trust, may sufficiently show what was going on without misleading the reader. The works on which I have *chiefly* relied are the Burmese, the Talaing and the Rakoing Maha-Radza-Wengs, or Chronicles of the kings of Burma, of Pegu, and of Arakan; Asia Portuguesa, en que se trattan los hechos y conquistas de los Portugueses en Asia y Africa, Manuel Faria y Souza, 1412–1640; Voyage by way of Tripolis into the East Indies, Ralph Fitch, 1599; Voyages and Adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, done into English by H. C. Gent, 1663; Voyages dans les Etats du Grand Mogol, Bernier, Amst. 1710; Hist. dos Descobrimentos e Conquistas dos Portugueses, Lisb. 1786; and the Description of the Burmese Empire, by the Reverend Father Sangermano, Rome, 1833.

Before, however, referring to Portuguese annals of the "Aurea Chersonesus," * I will first glance

* The site of the "Aurea Chersonesus" or "Aurea Regis" of Ptolemy, is still a matter of controversy. It may, perhaps, have represented the delta of the Irawadi and the adjacent Malay peninsula. Ptolemy describes the various rivers of the Chersonesus as communicating with each other, and which eminently applies to the waters of that delta. His "Mons Mæandrus" might be identical with the Yoma-toung range of Arakan mountains, and the river Besynga with the Bassein branch of the Irawadi. The classic Pali name of Thatún (the ancient capital of the Talaings) is Suvanna-bumme, which literally translated means gold-earth, or place of gold. The Pali name of Sittang, too, is Suverna, which after dropping the final syllable *na*—not uncommonly added to Pali names—resembles Soupheir, the Greek name of

cursorily at the position Portugal held in the East * at the commencement of the sixteenth century. In 1497, five years after the discovery of the new world by Columbus, Vasco de Gama † doubled the Cape of Good Hope, and entered the Eastern seas. It was by this prior right of discovery, and a Bull granted by Martin V., confirmed by succeeding popes, that Portugal claimed the exclusive navigation of the Indian Ocean,‡ and monopoly of its

Ophir. Josephus, who had great opportunities of acquiring information on the subject, says that "they should go along with his own (Solomon's) stewards to the land which was of old called Ophir, but now the Aurea Chersonesus which belongs to India, to fetch him gold." Ophir is thought by some authorities to have been Abhira, situated at the mouth of the Indus, and it was there that Solomon and Hiram despatched their vessels. Again, the Port of Cattigura, situated in Ptolemy's map in 8° S. lat., has been assigned to Mergui, and Thinæ, in like manner, to the Tenasserim coast. See "Josephus," Book viii., cap. 6, sec. 4. Mason's "Burma." Yule's "Mission to Ava."

* Portions of this account are extracted from the historical summary of my Administration Report of British Burma for 1869-70.

† Vasco de Gama was the first European navigator who found his way to India by the Cape of Good Hope. But the "Great Cape" had been discovered ten years previously by Bartholomew Dias and doubled by him in a storm. From the tempestuous seas surrounding it, he named the Cape "Cabo Tormentoso," which it bore for some time; but was afterwards changed by John, King of Portugal, to "Cabo de Buona Esperansa," the name it has ever since borne. Curious enough, the expedition to India under Cabral, which followed shortly after that of Vasco de Gama, in doubling the Cape of Good Hope encountered terrific gales, when four ships were lost, in one of which was Admiral Bartholomew Dias, and who thus found a grave off the Cape, which he had been the first to discover.

‡ The thirst for monopoly of the Eastern trade was very great with the Portuguese. Albuquerque, in his jealousy of Egyptian commerce, is said to have originated the idea (mooted not long ago) of turning the course of the Nile into the Red Sea across Nubia or Abyssinia, and thus convert its rich delta into a barren desert. It was equally strong, also, with the Egyptians and Venetians, who attacked the Portuguese in the Indian seas and destroyed one of their convoys. The Sultan of Egypt, too, threatened the Pope to massacre all the Christians in the Khalifat, and to destroy the sacred places at Jerusalem if his trade was interfered with by the infidels of Europe, and which was met

trade; which also, as their successors, was attempted by the Dutch: and it was not until the conclusion of the war with Holland* in 1784, that Great Britain insisted on a *formal* declaration of the free navigation of the Indian seas. The Pope's Bull† gave the Portuguese absolute sovereignty over all countries discovered to the eastward, and authority to introduce the Christian religion there with fire and sword. All their expeditions, as well as those of the Spaniards to the westward, were accompanied by fierce bigoted priests, who taught that all members of the human family who professed other forms of religion were excluded from the common rights of humanity, and that infidels profited more by instant death, than by the continuance of a life which would only add to their sins the obstinacy of refusing the cross.

This teaching of their religious instructors, which was in accordance with the corrupt and debased state of the Roman Church in the fifteenth century, may perhaps account for many of the wanton acts of bloodshed, cruelties, and desolating evils that accompanied the Portuguese and Spanish conquests. Subsequently, to prevent disputes arising between the

by a counter-threat from Albuquerque to despatch an expedition to plunder Mecca and Medina.—"Farya y Sousa," chap. viii., Daru, "Hist. de Vénise," lib. xix.—Raynal, "Hist. des Deux Indes," vol. i., p. 156.—Maffei, "Historica Indica."

* Valentyn, chap. xv.—Macpherson's "Annals of Commerce," vol. ii.

† See "Journal of Indian Archipelago," vol. ii., N.S., passim.

Portuguese and Spaniards, another Bull was issued by Alexander VI., in which he fixed a line extending from pole to pole, 370 leagues westward of the Azores, and declared that all discoveries to the eastward or African side belonged to Portugal, and to the westward or American side to the Spaniards.

The return of Vasco de Gama's expedition to Portugal, loaded with vast quantities of Oriental merchandise, obtained at a mere nominal cost compared with the enormous prices for which it had formerly been procured, caused other fleets to be sent. Fortified factories were established in every valuable situation from the Red Sea to New Guinea on the east, and along the African shore to the west, at Calicut, Cochin, Diu, and elsewhere on the Malabar coast; and in 1510 Alfonso de Albuquerque conquered the island of Goa, on which he erected fortifications, and made it the bulwark and seat of Portuguese power in the East. The following year he contemplated the conquest of the city of Malacca, situated nearly at the south-west extremity of the "Golden Chersonese," and then the great centre of trade in the Eastern Archipelago.

From time immemorial the ancient cities of the Eastern Archipelago, and other towns on the coast of the Malay peninsula, had been great emporia of trade, where the produce of India and China was collected, and it was probably from them that the

tawny Sabæans and Phœnicians coasting along the south shores of Arabia and Beloochistan, and the west coast of the Indian peninsula, carried away gold, incense, scented wood, and spices for the temple of Solomon; pearls, rubies, and sweet odours for the zenana of Ahasuerus; silks, cottons, anklets, and tinkling bells for the mercenary beauties of Nineveh, Babylon, and Sardis. These, and other commodities of a similar character, were conveyed to the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, and thence found their way overland to the luxurious capitals of ancient civilization. The Romans, Venetians, and Genoese followed in the wake of the Sabæans and Phœnicians, and for many centuries the Indian trade ran up the Persian Gulf and Red Sea. The rounding of the Cape of Good Hope* revolutionised the commerce of the East, and the galleons of Portugal superseded the caravans of Arabia and the argosies of Venice, diverting it in a new direction. Since then nearly four centuries have passed away, and it is curious to observe how in our own day the trade has returned to the old route, by the Red Sea and Suez Canal.

It was thus by no means surprising that within

* Previous to the discovery of the route by the Cape of Good Hope, and the establishment of the East India Company, England obtained the merchandize and luxuries of the far East, chiefly through Venice. The last Venetian argosy bound for England was wrecked on the Isle of Wight in 1587.—Anderson's "History of Commerce."

one year after the conquest of Goa, Albuquerque should resolve on the conquest of a city like Malacca, which had been long the centre of the commerce of Hindostan, China, and the Indian Archipelago. He sailed thither from Cochin on the 2nd May, 1511, with a force of 800 Portuguese and 600 natives. At that time Malacca was in the possession of a rebel vassal of Siam, named Mahomed, who mustered a garrison of 30,000 men, and offered a vigorous resistance to the Portuguese by means of wooden machines, rude cannon, and a species of artificial fire. But the intrepidity of the Portuguese overcame every obstacle, and in the commencement of the following month of July, after some days of severe fighting, the Portuguese flag was floating over the walls of Malacca.

Whilst the Portuguese had thus secured the key to the remote trade of the East, they were subject to continual attacks from chiefs in Sumatra and elsewhere. They succeeded, however, in repulsing all comers, and in carrying out the same policy at Malacca which they had pursued at Goa. They constructed a strong fort, they built a church, and they coined money in the name of the King of Portugal. They sent ambassadors to the Kings of Siam and Pegu, and despatched expeditions in various directions. One of these was to the Persian Gulf, where they captured the town and island of

Ormuz, which commanded the trade of the Gulf and the Persian Empire.

In 1530 they acquired Bombay. But their supremacy depended entirely upon their command of the seas. Their cruelty, bigotry, and rapacity caused them to be hated and distrusted by the natives; and when their monopoly of the trade of the Eastern Seas vanished before the competition of the English and Dutch, their power gradually collapsed, and by the middle of the seventeenth century had almost entirely disappeared.

The Portuguese, as has been shewn, established themselves at Malacca in 1511, but it was not until about 1540, that their historians throw any light upon the state of affairs in Burma. It appears from Farya-y-Souza, and from native annals, that in the commencement of the sixteenth century, the Kings of Toung-oo* had been for some considerable period the dominant power in the country, but were reduced in their turn to subjection by the Talaing King of Pegu, who compelled the King of Toung-oo to send thirty thousand of his Burmese subjects to build temples and other religious edifices in the city of Pegu, and its immediate neighbourhood, in like manner as the children of Israel were

* It is customary with the Burmese and Talaings to have a Pali as well as a vernacular name for their cities and districts. The Pali name of Toung-oo is Ké-tu-ma-ti.

forced to build "treasure cities" for the Egyptian Pharaohs.

But in 1540 a day of deliverance arrived. The King of Pegu frequently visited the works in progress accompanied by his queens and ladies. On one of these occasions the Burmese labourers rose against their Talaing taskmasters. They killed the Talaing King of Pegu, and robbed and ill-treated the ladies. In the language of the Portuguese historian, "they opened a way with their pickaxes and shovels for the scimitars and standards of the King of Toung-oo!" The King of Toung-oo, who is variously called Branginoco,* Branjinoko, and Pará Mandorá by Portuguese historians, soon re-established the paramount power which had been held by his forefathers. He overran all the vassal kingdoms that paid tribute to Pegu, and finally advanced with an overwhelming army down the valley of the Irawadi, and attacked Pegu by land and water.

Meanwhile the son of the murdered Talaing King had ascended the throne of Pegu. Suddenly the Portuguese appeared upon the scene. The Portuguese Viceroy of Goa had sent a "great galleon" to

* Sangermano calls this King Mentrasvedi, the thirtieth prince of his line. Branginoco is, however, evidently a corruption of the Burmese titles of this sovereign; and as they appear in the Maha-Radza-Weng, namely, *Boreng-gyee-noung-dzau*, Great, Divine, Victorious Sovereign. This King, after his numerous conquests, also assumed the title of *Tsheng-byoo-mya-sheng*, Lord of many white elephants.

trade with Pegu, under the command of Ferdinand de Morales. Pegu was in no condition to trade; but the young Talaing prince prevailed on Morales to help him against Branginoco. The vast army of Branginoco was irresistible. Morales fought against overwhelming odds; he was deserted by the Talaings, but performed prodigies of valour, and perished sword in hand. His powers astonished all beholders, and his memory was preserved amongst the Talaings for a century afterwards.

The conquest of Pegu consolidated the power of Branginoco. The terror of his name spread far and wide. Four years after the overthrow of the Talaing dynasty, he led a great expedition against the kingdom of Martaban.* He was accompanied by four Portuguese ships; they were commanded by John Cayero, a Portuguese officer of courage and renown. He besieged the city of Martaban for many months. The people of Martaban were reduced by starvation; they were driven to devour their elephants. The King of Martaban offered to capitulate; Branginoco refused all terms. The King of Martaban offered immense bribes to Cayero; the Portuguese dared not accept them; he was afraid lest his own officers should betray him to Branginoco. The King of Martaban resolved to set his city on fire; to sally out with his remaining dependants, and

* Pali name, Ram-ma-na.

perish sword in hand. One of his officers went over to the enemy; he betrayed his master's design to Branginoco. The result was that the King of Martaban was compelled to make every submission. He surrendered his kingdom to Branginoco, and agreed to spend the rest of his days in retirement. In return his life was to be spared, and the lives of his wives and children.

Branginoco never intended to keep his word. He was bent on the destruction of the King of Martaban and all his family. A lane two or three miles long was formed by two rows of musketeers of different nations; it ran from the gate of the city of Martaban to the tent of Branginoco. The Portuguese under the command of John Cayero were posted at the gate of the city. The procession of royal captives passed along this lane. First went the Queen, carried in her chair; next her two sons and two daughters were carried in other chairs. Then followed forty young ladies and forty old matrons; they were surrounded by Buddhist priests, who prayed for them and comforted them. Lastly came the King of Martaban, mounted on a small elephant and strongly guarded. He was habited in black velvet. His head and beard were shaved; so were his eyebrows. A rope was tied about his neck. He followed the ladies to the tent of Branginoco and threw himself at the feet of Bran-

ginoco. The chief of the Buddhist priests, who was regarded as a saint, pleaded for him long and earnestly; but Branginoco was obdurate. Gibbets were set up on a neighbouring hill, and the queen, her children, and ladies, to the number of a hundred and forty souls, were hung up to them by their feet. The King of Martaban, with fifty of his chief nobles, were cast into the sea with stones tied to their necks. The soldiers of Branginoco were so deeply moved by his barbarity that they broke out into mutiny. The tyrant escaped the danger and returned to Pegu.

In 1546 Branginoco conducted an army up the river Irawadi for the conquest of Prome. The event is of no importance beyond the light which it throws on the ferocity* of the old Burmese

* The "atrocities" said to have been perpetrated of late in Bulgaria and elsewhere by the Turks, who belong, the same as the Burmese, to the Mongoloid races, are but repetitions in a *milder form* of what occurred in by-gone times. These races, especially the Mongol and Turkish branches, have always been celebrated for their ruthless cruelties and contempt of human life.

In the memoirs of the celebrated Salim Jahangír, the Moghul Emperor, authenticated by himself, he says:—"To strengthen and confirm my rule, I directed that a double row of stakes should be set up from the garden to the city, and that the rebels and others who had taken part in the revolt, should be impaled thereon, and thus receive their deserts in this most excruciating punishment." The number of rebels thus impaled were 700 in number, and in commenting upon it he remarks:—"Than this (execution by impalement) there cannot exist a more excruciating punishment; since the wretches exposed frequently linger a long time in the most agonizing torture, before the hand of death relieves them." The process consisted of lightly poising the victim above a sharp stake, in such manner that, by wriggling in the contortions of his agony, he should gradually impale himself!

Salim Jahangír was contemporary with James I. of England, and an embassy was sent to him by King James in 1615, under Sir Thomas Roe, to solicit

sovereigns. Prome was closely besieged for five months, when it was captured, burnt, and its inhabitants put to the sword. The Portuguese historian states that two thousand children were cut to pieces and given as food to elephants. The queen was publicly whipped and put to a horrible death by the soldiery. The King was tied to her dead body and thrown into the river. Three hundred of the chief inhabitants of Prome were drowned in like manner.

Subsequently Branginoco waged war against Siam, where, at that time, great anarchy prevailed, the King and heir apparent having been lately poisoned, and there being no lawful heir to the throne. He invaded the country with a large army, "wherein were one hundred thousand foreigners; and amongst them one thousand* Portuguese, commanded by Diego Suarez de Albergaria, nicknamed Galego, and who was a great favourite of the King's." The country was overrun, and Ayudhyá, the capital of the kingdom, besieged. It would probably have been

privileges for the East India Company. He is well known to readers of English poetry as the devoted lover of the famous Núr Jahán. In "Lalla Rookh," a slight coolness is described to have existed at first between the lovers, which to the poet seemed somewhat strange; but according to history, arose, possibly, from the fact of the royal lover having caused her husband to be murdered. Núr Jahán's first husband was a Turkoman of noble descent, who was distinguished no less by his great strength than by his personal valour. He died the death of "Uriah the Hittite."

* Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, p. 279. The number of Portuguese with the army is no doubt greatly exaggerated; they probably did not exceed 200 men.

speedily taken, had there not been amongst the garrison a small band of Portuguese commanded by James Pereyra, who are stated to have behaved in a most gallant manner, and whom Branginoco endeavoured to corrupt with bribes, but which were rejected with scorn.

When the city was reduced to almost the last extremity, Branginoco received information of a formidable revolution having broken out in Pegu, headed by a Phoongyee or priest, named Zemindoo, who belonged to the old Talaing dynasty of Pegu, and had assumed the garb* of a priest to save his life, when Branginoco deposed and killed his uncle; and that the capital and the principal cities of the kingdom had been seized. Branginoco at once raised the siege, and retired by forced marches to Martaban, where he halted to allow the remainder of his army to come up. While there, however, a portion of his men, chiefly Talaings, deserted, and joined Zemindoo; and fearing lest there would be more defection if he delayed, he marched, with what forces he had at his disposal, on Pegu, and on the 16th of November, 1548, a great battle was fought under the walls of that city, when the army

* This is not at all an uncommon practice. The present King of Burma was formerly a priest, and would not improbably have been put to death by his predecessor and elder brother, when he ascended the throne, had he not assumed the sacerdotal garb. During our last war with Burma the present King and his younger brother caused a revolution, and deposed their eldest brother, when the former left his monastery and ascended the throne.

of Zemindoo was totally routed; Zemindoo himself escaping with great difficulty.

Branginoco, after having recaptured Pegu, which was followed by an indiscriminate slaughter of its inhabitants, proceeded to Sittang to punish Xenim de Satan, Governor of that province, who had furnished Zemindoo with money, and done him homage; but on the way was surprised at night, while weakly guarded, and killed by Xenim. Xenim then attacked the deceased King's army, routed it, and proclaimed himself King.

On the death of Branginoco, Diego Suarez fled to Ava, but was recalled by Xenim, and taken into favour. Very shortly after that, however, he met with a terrible fate. Whilst Branginoco was alive, Diego Suarez was all powerful. He committed acts of violence which deeply incensed the people; yet no one dared to complain of the iniquity of the favourite of the conqueror. On one occasion he stopped a bridal procession in the streets of Pegu; killed the bridegroom, and carried away the bride to his own house. The girl strangled herself to escape dishonour; her father was powerless to avenge her. But a day of retribution came. Xenim had not the power of Branginoco; and the father of the girl, watching his opportunity, at the head of a large body of the inhabitants of the city, went to the King's palace and demanded justice. The King became

alarmed, and seeing that he could not shield the foreigner, ordered Suarez to be delivered over to the people, who stoned him to death, tore his remains to pieces, and scattered them about the streets of Pegu. His house was sacked, and all his ill-gotten wealth scattered to the winds.

After Xenim had reigned about two years, he was attacked and beseiged in the city of Pegu, by Zemindoo. Xenim, owing to his great cruelties and extortions, had made himself very unpopular, and fearing a rebellion within the city, he determined to attack Zemindoo in the open field. He accordingly sallied out at five gates of the city, and attacked the besieging force with great fury. But within half an hour from the commencement of the contest, in the words of the Portuguese historian, "King Xenim was borne from his elephant by an arquebuse shot, discharged at him by a Portuguese named Goncalo Neto, which caused all the rest to surrender themselves, and the city likewise, upon condition that the inhabitants should have their goods and lives saved. By this means the Zemindoo entered peaceably into it, and the very same day, which was Saturday, the three and twentieth day of February, 1551, he caused himself to be crowned King of Pegu in the greatest temple of the city."

Zemindoo only retained the throne for a little over one year, when he was deposed by Meng-

tara-gyee, son-in-law of Branginoco, who marched an army against him and utterly defeated him. He fled to the mountains, where he married the daughter of a poor mountaineer. Unfortunately, he revealed his real name and condition to his young wife. The girl told her parents; they were very poor; and were tempted by the heavy reward which was offered for the capture of the royal exile. Accordingly, the parents betrayed their son-in-law; and Zemindoo was taken and beheaded.*

The history of the different Kings that reigned

* Zemindoo, in comparison with his predecessors, appears to have been a mild and benevolent ruler, and much beloved by his Talaing subjects. Gent, in his old quaint translation of the adventures of Ferdinand Mendez Pinto, in describing the execution procession, of which Pinto says he was an eye-witness, states:—"In the midst came the poor patient, mounted on a lean ill-favoured jade, and the hangman on the crupper behind him, holding him up under both the arms. This miserable prince was so poorly clad that his naked skinne was everywhere seen; withall, in an exceeding derision of his person, they had set upon his head a crown of straw, like unto an urinal case, which crown was garnished with muscle-shells, fastened together with blew thred; and round about his iron collar were a number of onions tyed. Howbeit, though he was reduced to so deplorable an estate, and that his face was so scarce like to that of a living man, yet left he not (for all that) from having something of I know not what in his eyes, which manifested the condition of a king. There was besides observed in him a majesticall sweetnesse, which drew tears from all that beheld him. On arriving at the great scaffold, which had been expressly erected for him, the Chirca of Justice fell to reading of his sentence from an high seate, where he was placed; the contents whereof were in few words these: *The living God of our heads, Lord of the Crown of the Kings of Avva, commands that the perfidious Zemindoo be executed as the perturbator of the people of the earth, and the mortal enemy of the Brama nation.* This said, he made a sign with his hand, and instantly the hangman cut off his head with one blow, shewing it to all the people, which were there without number, and divided his body into eight quarters, setting his bowels and other interior parts, which were put together, in a place by themselves; then covering all with a yellow cloth, which is a mark of mourning amongst them, they were left there till the going down of the sun, at which time they were burnt."

in Burma, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, is much of the same character as the foregoing. It would be useless as well as tedious to pursue it further. It is a round of wars and revolts, of treacheries and murders. Its chief interest is derived from the appearance of Europeans upon the scene. Two adventurers, a Portuguese and a Spaniard, played important parts in Burma during the early years of the seventeenth century. The story of their lives is worth telling. It shows how easily lawless Europeans could establish a rule over timid Asiatics by a display of reckless audacity.

About the year 1600 there was a King of Arakan, named Shimili Shah,* or Xilimixa, according to Faria y Souza. This King tried to found an empire. He took possession of the kingdom of Pegu. An adventurer, named Philip de Brito, better known as Nicote,† either joined his service or otherwise helped him in making his conquests. Nicote persuaded Shimili Shah to establish a

* After the Arakanese conquered a portion of Bengal—the present Chittagong District—they assumed foreign titles in addition to their Arakanese ones, and their pronunciation and mode of spelling them in the native language formed extraordinary corruptions, making it often difficult to understand their real meaning. This title of Shimili Shah is an example of these. According to the Rakhoing-maha-radza-weng the Arakanese title of the king who was on the throne at this period, was Meng-Radza-gree, who reigned from 1593 to 1612 A.D., when he was succeeded by his son, Thee-rie-tho-dhamma-Radza, who reigned until 1622 A.D.

† He was nicknamed Changa, that is Good Man, from his being supposed to be possessed naturally of a good temper.

custom-house at the port of Syriam * on the Pegu river, not far from the modern town of Rangoon. Nicote next got possession of the custom-house, turned it into a fort, and aspired to the conquest of Pegu. He intrigued with the neighbouring princes, and quieted all suspicions by secretly promising to give the kingdom of Pegu to each one in turn. He persuaded some of them to send ambassadors to Goa, and accompanied the ambassadors there himself. The Portuguese Viceroy of Goa was also taken in. He gave Nicote the rank of "General in Pegu;" he also gave Nicote a natural daughter in marriage. Nicote returned to Syriam, enlarged the Fort, built a church, and sent a rich present to Shimili Shah, the King of Arakan. The further proceedings of Nicote are somewhat obscure. Two things appear certain: he became virtually the Sovereign of Pegu, and also conquered the neighbouring kingdom of Toungoo, compelling the King to become his vassal.

By this time Shimili Shah, King of Arakan, began to suspect that he had been beguiled. He made war upon Nicote, but could effect nothing. He next feigned a friendship with Nicote. Nicote requested that a port in Arakan, named Dianga,

* Syriam is a corruption of the Burmese word Than-hlyeng. In Pali the place is called Khoddha-dippa.

might be made over to him. Shimili Shah affected to be inclined to accede to the request. Nicote was induced to send a number of Portuguese to settle in Dianga. He was also persuaded to send his son, with a number of ships and a large retinue, as ambassador to the court of Arakan. It was the old tale of Asiatic treachery. The ambassador was received at court; he was then murdered with all his officers. The ships were captured and their crews massacred. Every Portuguese in Dianga was put to the sword, in like manner.

Nicote was unable to revenge the massacre. He was attacked from another quarter. The King of Toungoo had sought to throw off the Portuguese yoke; he became a vassal of the King of Ava. Nicote marched against him, plundered Toungoo, and carried away the King as his prisoner. The King of Ava was exceedingly wroth against Nicote. He threw his garments upon the ground, and vowed that he would not worship at a pagoda, until he had been revenged upon the Portuguese. He prepared a vast armament, and burnt and ravaged the country of Pegu up to the very walls of Syriam.

Nicote was fertile in resources, but every resource failed him. He sent a soldier to Bengal to buy gunpowder; the man ran away with the money.

He sent another messenger to St. Thomé, close to Madras, for the like purpose; no gunpowder arrived. His ammunition failed; he poured boiling oil and pitch upon his besiegers. He sent out three ships to attack the Ava fleet. One of his ships was captured, and the crew slaughtered to a man. The other two ships returned to Syriam; but every man on board either vessel was more or less wounded. Nicote sent messengers to the King of Ava to beg for mercy; all mercy was refused. At last he was betrayed by one of his followers named Bauna, to the King, who ordered him to be impaled on a hill overlooking the fort; in which miserable state he lived for two days, and died in great agony. His Goa wife, Donna Louise de Salhanha, was carried away with other captives to Ava;* and she became a slave in the palace of the King.

Shortly before the execution of Nicote, another adventurer began to appear in the Bay of Bengal. This was a Spaniard of low origin, named Sebastian Gonzales de Tibao. The career of this man was as remarkable in its way as that of Nicote. It throws

* A number of Portuguese captives were taken to Ava, and land allotted to them. They intermarried with the people of the country, and their descendants are easily distinguishable to this day. When in Burma, I had one of them in my employ as a servant, and I saw many of them while on my mission to Ava. It is a remarkable fact that they are considerably darker in complexion than the Burmese. The "half-castes" of Bengal and Madras, with their high sounding Portuguese names, are also, as a general rule, much darker than the natives of those Presidencies.

a broad light upon the condition of Lower Bengal, as well as on that of Arakan, in the early half of the seventeenth century.

Eastern Bengal has always been a debatable territory between antagonistic races. The celebrated Akbar was Emperor of Hindustan from 1556 to 1605. He was succeeded by his son Jehangir, who reigned from 1605 to 1627. During this period the Moghuls in Bengal were at frequent war with the Mugh* population of Arakan. Portuguese outlaws had also found places of refuge in the islands of the Sunderbunds, and the dominion of the King of Arakan.

Sebastian Gonzales came out to Bengal in 1605. He started as a soldier; subsequently he engaged in the salt trade. In the end he took to piracy, and became the commander of a fleet of piratical vessels. He took possession of the island of Sundiva in the south-east quarter of the Sunderbunds. He was virtually King of Sundiva, and his will was law throughout the island. He frequently ravaged the Sunderbunds as well as the coast of

* The term Mugh is applied by the people of India to the Arakanese. It is unknown to the people themselves, and is entirely a foreign epithet. Dr. Mason thinks it probably takes its origin from the traditions of a tribe of Brahmins, termed Magas, said to have emigrated eastward from Bengal. Sir Arthur Phayre says, "Magas looks very much like Magos, the priest of the Medes." The Arakanese are, no doubt, a branch of the Burmese race that separated from the main stock at an early period. They call themselves Ma-ra-má-gree, and their country Rakaing-pree. A brief description of the Arakanese race will be given in a future chapter.

Arakan. His wealth is said to have exceeded that of many princes. He commanded a large force; it included natives as well as Europeans. He had also a fleet of eighty vessels armed with cannon.

About this time a revolution broke out in Arakan. The King of Arakan* was deposed by a cousin; he managed to escape to Sundiva, leaving his cousin in possession of the throne. Sebastian Gonzales espoused the cause of the exile. He made it a pretext for conducting an expedition against Arakan. In reality he wanted to take possession of the kingdom of Arakan, just as Nicote had taken possession of the kingdom of Pegu. The expedition failed; Gonzales was defeated by the usurper; he returned to Sundiva. The exiled King lost all hope of recovering his throne; he soon found that he was at the mercy of the Spaniard. He had brought a sister with him to Sundiva. Gonzales demanded her in marriage; he insisted that she should be baptised for the purpose. The ex-King was forced to yield. He died soon afterwards; it was generally believed that he was poisoned by Gonzales; and, though he left a Queen behind him, Gonzales seized all his treasures, and made no provision for the family. Many people began to murmur at these

* Meng-tsa-nee, Radza, son of the preceding King, Thee-rie-tho-dhamma. He reigned only twenty-eight days, when he was deposed by his cousin, Na-ra-ba-die-gree.

high-handed proceedings. To quiet them Sebastian Gonzales tried to marry the widowed Queen to his own brother Anthony. The Arakan princess refused to become a Christian, and the marriage was never concluded.

Sebastian Gonzales soon had reason to fear the growing power of the Moghuls. He formed an alliance with the usurping King of Arakan against the Moghuls, and made over his own nephew to the King of Arakan as a hostage for his fidelity. He then betrayed his Arakan ally; probably he was bribed by the Moghuls. He invited all the captains in the Arakan fleet to come on board his own ship, and put every one of them to death. He captured several Arakan ships, killing all the crews or selling them into slavery. He then threw off all disguise, and sailed past the coast of Arakan, plundering and destroying all forts and custom-houses near the sea.

The King of Arakan was exasperated to madness by the treachery of Gonzales, and burned to be revenged. He impaled the nephew of Gonzales on a rising ground near the shore. Gonzales was utterly callous. He cared not who suffered so long as he got what he wanted. He had failed to get possession of the kingdom of Arakan, and was becoming reckless in his turn. He had hitherto ignored the authority of the Viceroy of Goa, and resolved at all

cost to induce the Viceroy to help him to conquer Arakan. He sent messengers to Goa, offering to pay a yearly tribute to the Viceroy, and hinting to the Viceroy that the conquest of Arakan would place all its treasures at the disposal of the King of Portugal.

The Viceroys of Goa were no longer soldiers and gentlemen of the type of Albuquerque; they were no longer inspired with the self-sacrificing spirit of Crusaders. They were greedy after gain, and cared for nothing but riches. The reigning Viceroy received the messengers from Gonzales, formed an alliance with him, but tried to outwit him. A Portuguese fleet was sent against Arakan, with orders to attack Arakan without waiting for Gonzales. The result was disastrous. Whilst the Portuguese admiral was engaging the Arakan fleet he was assailed and defeated by a Dutch fleet. Gonzales heard the news and joined the Portuguese fleet in an evil humour. He cursed the Viceroy for issuing such orders, and the admiral for obeying them. A battle ensued; the Portuguese were utterly beaten by the King of Arakan.

Many Portuguese prisoners were taken by the enemy; and were all beheaded. Their heads were fixed upon spears and set up along the shore. The admiral was slain. Gonzales returned with his shattered fleet to Sandiva. His day of pros-

perity was over; the King of Arakan recovered possession of Sandiva. Gonzales dropped into poverty and obscurity, and was heard of no more.

The history of Burma during the seventeenth century is obscure; there is nothing, however, to show that it differed in any appreciable degree from the history of the sixteenth century. There were apparently the same wars, the same revolts, the same revolutions. The King of Arakan conquered a portion of Lower Bengal during the weak reign of Johangir, the son and successor of the Moghul Emperor Akbar. He grew in power during the subsequent reign of Shah Jahán. Hindustan was convulsed by the bloody wars which were carried on between the four sons of Shah Jahán. No attention was paid to the raids and outrages which were committed on the south-eastern frontier.

Bernier, the French traveller, furnishes a graphic picture of the state of affairs in Lower Bengal and Arakan, during a great part of the seventeenth century. His account * was written about 1668; I have somewhat condensed it, but otherwise have given it as nearly as possible in his own words:—

"The kingdom of Arakan, or Mugh, has for many years been the resort of Portuguese settlers.

* "Voyages dans les États du Grand Mogol." Amst. 1710.—"History of the late Revolution of the Empire of the Great Mogul," 1671.

It has thus contained numerous Christian slaves, or Portuguese half-castes; as well as Europeans collected from various parts of the world. It has been a place of refuge for fugitives from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca, and other Portuguese settlements in India. No persons were better received than those who had deserted their monasteries, married two or three wives, or committed great crimes. These people were Christians only in name. In Arakan they threw off all restraint; their lives were most detestable; they massacred or poisoned one another without compunction or remorse. They sometimes assassinated their own priests; and to confess the truth, the priests were often no better than their murderers."

"The King of Arakan lived in perpetual dread of the Great Moghul. He kept these Christian foreigners, as a kind of advanced guard for the protection of his frontier. He permitted them to occupy a seaport called Chittagong, and made them grants of land in its neighbourhood. They were in no way amenable to government; it is therefore not surprising that their only trade was rapine and piracy. They scoured the neighbouring seas in light vessels, called galliases, with which they entered the numerous friths and estuaries of the Ganges, and ravaged the islands of Lower Bengal. They often penetrated forty or fifty leagues into

the country, and attacked villages by surprise on market-days, or when the inhabitants were assembled for the celebration of a marriage or some other festival. They made slaves of their unhappy captives, and burnt whatever they could not carry away. It is owing to their repeated depredations, that we see so many fine islands in the mouth of the Ganges utterly depopulated. They were formerly thickly peopled; they are now entirely deserted by human beings, and become the resort of tigers and beasts of prey."

Such is the testimony of Bernier. He also knew something of Sebastian Gonzales. His information is not so explicit as that of Faria y Sousa; but it comprises some further details which serve to confirm the general truth of the story. He refers to Sebastian Gonzales as Bastian Consalve, a French rendering of the Spanish name. "Bastian Consalve," says Bernier, "was in former times the chief of the Portuguese pirates of Chittagong. He was so celebrated and so powerful that he married the King of Arakan's daughter.* He made a formal offer to the Viceroy of Goa to deliver the whole kingdom of Arakan into his hands. It is said that the Viceroy was too arrogant and envious to listen

* Faria y Sousa says that Sebastian Gonzales married the sister of the ex-King of Arakan; Bernier says he married a daughter. The difference is of no moment.

to this proposal, and felt unwilling that the King of Portugal should be indebted to a man of low origin for so important an acquisition. The pirates, about this time, made themselves masters of the island of Sundiva, an advantageous post which commanded part of the mouth of the Ganges. On this spot the celebrated Fra Joan, an Augustine monk, reigned for many years as a petty sovereign.*

The reign of Shah Jahán, grandson of the Emperor Akbar, and son of Jahangir, was brought to a close about 1658; that is, about forty years after the ruin of Sebastian Gonzales of Sandiva. There is a striking episode in the annals of the Moghul empire at this period, which brings the kingdom of Arakan on the stage of history. It is narrated at length by Bernier; it may be retold as follows:—

There was a war for the succession to the Moghul empire in India between the four sons of Shah Jahán. It ended in the triumph of Aurungzebe. One brother had been taken prisoner and murdered at Delhi. Another brother had been betrayed in a fit of intoxication, and was imprisoned for life. A third one was still at large, but he was a fugitive; his name was Shoojah. During his father's reign

* Fra Joan apparently flourished some time after the disappearance of Sebastian Gonzales. His life must have been one of strange adventures, but little is known regarding it.

he had been Viceroy of Bengal; he was the first to engage in the war for the succession; he had fought manfully against Aurungzebe. In the end he was utterly defeated, and fled to the city of Dacca. In those days Dacca was the capital of Bengal; it was also tolerably near the sea. Shoojah had no ships in which to embark. He was in terror of his life, but knew not where to fly. At last he sent to the King of Arakan,* and asked for a temporary asylum. He begged the King to place a ship at his disposal, to proceed to Mocha on the Red Sea, and thence to go on pilgrimage to Mecca. The King of Arakan promised everything. He sent a fleet of galliases, manned with Portuguese outlaws and other Christian freebooters, to bring Shoojah and his family to Arakan. Shoojah embarked with his wife, his three sons, and some daughters. He reached Arakan in safety, but the scoundrels managed to open some of his chests, and robbed him of many of his jewels.

The King of Arakan received him with a show of hospitality, and supplied the Moghul Prince with all the necessaries of life. Month after month passed away; the season came round for sailing to Mocha; but nothing was said about the promised ship.

* The King of Arakan at this period was Tsan-da-tho-dham-ma, Radza, who reigned for the long period—for an Arakan king—of thirty-two years, viz., from 1652 to 1684 A.D.

Shoojah had still plenty of gold and jewels; he was perfectly ready to pay for the hire of the ship, but his wealth had excited the cupidity of the King of Arakan. Such sovereigns have no generosity, no regard for their word. To escape out of their hands, you must either have nothing to tempt their avarice, or such a superiority of strength as will excite their fears.

It was said that the King of Arakan had been offered large bribes by Aurungzebe to deliver up Shoojah, and that he only delayed until he had decided as to the course which would be the most to his advantage. Shoojah sent messengers begging that the King of Arakan would give him a ship according to his promise. The King gave a deaf ear to the messengers; he grew cool and uncivil; and reproached Shoojah for not having paid him a visit. The fact was, Shoojah was afraid to enter the palace; he was alarmed that the King would imprison him, and plunder him of all his treasures. Accordingly he sent his eldest son to the palace. The young Prince presented the King with rich brocades, and rare pieces of goldsmith's work; he apologised for his father's absence on the plea of ill health, and implored the King to provide the promised ship.

The visit proved a failure. Nothing could induce the barbarian King to fulfil his engagements.

Shoojah was perplexed and mortified. Five or six days after, the King demanded one of his daughters in marriage. Shoojah shuddered at the idea. It was impossible to give a Princess of the Imperial house of Timour in marriage to the Mugh King of Arakan, without degrading the family for ever. The King was exasperated by the refusal. The Prince's situation became desperate. At last Shoojah planned an enterprise so wild and so extravagant, as to demand close attention.

There were some Mahommedans in the Kingdom of Arakan. They had either sought refuge in Arakan, or had been enslaved by the Portuguese in their kidnapping expeditions. Shoojah secretly gained over a number of these men, and joined them with two or three hundred of his own people —the remnant of those dependants and followers who had accompanied him from Bengal. With this force he resolved to surprise the palace of the King of Arakan, put the royal family to the sword, and make himself sovereign of the country. The attempt resembles the act of a desperado; it was, however, feasible. Similar acts of audacity had been committed by Portuguese adventurers, and had been attended with success. Unfortunately, the day before the blow was to be struck, the plot was discovered. Shoojah was utterly ruined. He tried to escape into Pegu; but was unable to climb the

rude precipices or penetrate the dense jungle. He is said to have been overtaken and killed; nothing further was heard of him. His women and children were brought back to Arakan, and thrown into prison. After a while they were released and treated kindly. The King of Arakan then married the eldest daughter. At the same time the Queen mother of Arakan expressed a strong desire to be married to the eldest son.

The Moghul Prince was probably disinclined to the union; at any rate he hatched another plot of the same character as the previous one. It was discovered in like manner. The King of Arakan was so exasperated that he ordered the total extermination of the entire family. Even the Princess whom he had married, and who was about to become a mother, was sacrificed in obedience to his brutal mandate. The sons of Shoojah were beheaded with blunt axes; his daughters were confined to their chambers, and left to die of hunger.

The later history of Burma is the same old story of usurpations, commotions, rebellions, and massacres, by a recital of which, I will not tresspass on the patience of my readers. In 1700 the Burmese King of Ava was also lord of Pegu. In 1735 the Talaing King of Pegu was also lord of Ava. In 1752 a Burmese hero appeared and established a

new Burman empire. He is known as Alompra* the Hunter.†

* The original name of Alompra is unknown. He was, however, of very humble origin, and followed the calling of a Mok-tsho or hunter. He was a man of a bold and energetic character, and became Kyay-dan-gyee, or head of his native village Moutshabo (Mok-tsho-pho)—then a very insignificant one. When he revolted and renounced allegiance to the Talaings, who had lately conquered Ava, he assumed the name of Oung-dzay-ya, victorious conqueror, which on his advance to the throne, he altered to Aloung-phura or Alompra. He also changed the name of his native village to that of Rutna-thengha (Pali—meaning Gem-lion), and made it for some time his capital. The meaning of Aloung is embryo, or imperfect state, but progressing towards perfection, and phura (Pali—Prahoo) an object of reverence and adoration. This epithet of Aloung-phura, or Phura-loung, has been assumed by many of the kings of Burma, as an augury of their apotheosis; and implies a being who is destined to become a *Phura*, by attaining "*niebban*." Gantama attained "*niebban*" in 543 B.C., and thus became a *Phura*. In the Burmese sacred books, he is often called Phura-loung, which alludes to him when a living being. Before he became a man, he underwent *Metamsomatosis* in the bodies of various animals, in all of which he was a Phura-loung. It is said that one night when Alompra was asleep, his arms suddenly shone out like fire, which some of his followers observing, poured water upon, and woke him. On his asking them the cause of the shower-bath, they informed him of what they had seen. Soothsayers and learned men were sent for, to expound the meaning of this luminous appearance; who declared it to be a good omen, and that he would shortly become a king. This was probably a stratagem on the part of Alompra, to give confidence to his followers. Nearly the same thing happened to the Karen Meng-loung, who raised a rebellion since our occupation of Pegu (of whom mention will be made hereafter), and who, it is well known, used to rub his arms with phosphorus, by which, in imitation of Alompra, he caused a similar effect to be produced.

† Hunters and fishermen are held in very low esteem in Buddhist countries, and Alompra must indeed have been a very extraordinary man, to have even overcome this prejudice. According to Buddhist law, there are twenty-one kinds of people, on account of their evil deeds, will fall into the lowest hell. Nineteen, however, of these, "if they see their evil ways, perform good works, listen to the Law, steadfastly observe Saranagamana and the five commandments, and keep good watch over their bodies, shall be redeemed from their sins; but the *hunter* and the *fisherman*, let them attend Pagodas, listen to the Law, and keep the five commandments to the end of their lives, still they cannot be released from their sins. See "Buddhaghosha's Parables," translated by Captain Rogers, R. E., p. 194. Saranagamana is the formula of Buddhist worship, viz., Buddha, Dhamma, Sangha, the Deity, the Law, and the Assembly or Priesthood. The five commandments are:—1, Kill not: 2, Steal not: 3, Commit not adultery: 4, Lie not: 5, Take nothing that intoxicates.

Alompra is the founder of the reigning dynasty of kings of Burma. He threw off the Talaing yoke, and conquered an Empire which extended from China to Siam. He founded the city of Rangoon, near the mouth of the Irawadi river; and during his reign the British government was first brought into political relationship with the kings of Burma. Alompra died in 1760. Under his successors there were frequent revolts and massacres.

During the reign of Shembuan,* the third King of his line, there was an invasion of the Burmese Empire by the Chinese, which lasted for about three years. The Chinese ravaged and took possession of a large portion of the upper part of the country, but retired on certain humiliating submissions, including the acknowledgment of vassalage, being made. Two former invasions by the Chinese appear also to have occurred; the first in 1284, A.D., when the seat of government was at Pagán, and the second in 1305, A.D., when established at Panya. The first invasion is said to have been caused by the treacherous murder of certain Chinese envoys, together with their whole suite, by the then reigning monarch, Nara-thee-ha-padé, for disrespect,

* The name is spelt in this way by Symes. I keep up the nomenclature of places and persons as formerly used, as much as possible, to prevent confusion. The Burmese way of spelling this King's name is Tshen-byoo-sheng, Lord of the White Elephant.

or some breach of etiquette,* committed in the royal presence. Major Burney, who was some years British Resident at the court of Ava, gives in his journal a literal translation (at least as nearly so as possible) from the Maha-radza-weng, of the Burmese account of this invasion, and which I will extract at length, as it is a good specimen of the inflated and romantic style of these "Chronicles of the Kings of Burma." It is curious also from the superhuman agency exhibited in the shape of nats or spirits of either nation, who perform miracles, and mix personally in the engagements, reminding one somewhat of those performed by the Homeric deities before the walls of Troy.

"When the Emperor of China received intelligence of the execution of his envoys, he was exceedingly angry, and collecting an army of at least six millions of horse, and twenty millions of foot, sent them down to attack Pugan; the King of which, Naratheehapadi, as soon as he heard of the coming of this force, placed under the generals Nanda-peetzeen and Yanda-peetzeen 400,000 soldiers, and numerous elephants and horses, with orders to proceed and attack the Chinese army. The two generals marched to the city of Ngayounggyan,

* The breach of etiquette is said to have been caused by their appearing in the royal presence with their boots or shoes on. This "shoe question" is a great "vexata questio" in the East.

and, after putting its walls, moat, and fortifications in a proper state of defence, opposed the Chinese army at the mouth of the Bhamo river, killing during three months so many of their army, that not a grass-cutter even for its elephants and horses remained. The Emperor of China, however, kept reinforcing his army, and replacing those who were killed by sending 200,000 men when he heard of the loss of 100,000 men, and 400,000 when he heard of 200,000. Hence the Burman Army was at last overpowered with fatigue, and the Chinese crossed the river and destroyed Ngayounggyan.

"As the nats or spirits attached to either nation were fighting together in the air, four of the Pugan nats, namely, Tebathen, guardian of one of the gates of Pugan City, Tsalenwotthakenyoung nat, Kanshyeyoung nat, guardian of the long lake or tank, and Tounggyeyen nat, lord of the foot of the mountain, were wounded by arrows. In the new Yazawen, Tebathen nat is styled Thanbethen. On the very day on which the stockade of Ngayounggyan was taken, the nat Tebathen returned to Pugan, and entered the house of the King's teacher, on whom he had always been accustomed to wait. The King's teacher was asleep at the time; but the nat awakened him, and said, 'Ngayounggyan has been destroyed this day. I am wounded by an arrow, and the nats Tsalenwotthaken, Kanshye

and Tounggyeyen are also wounded in the same manner.' The priest and King's teacher called one of his disciples, a young probationer, and sent him to the King to report the loss of Ngayounggyan. His Majesty inquired how this circumstance was known, when the young probationer declared that the nat Tebathen, guardian of the Tharabha Gate, had just arrived from Ngayounggyan, and reported the matter to the King's teacher, who had thus learned that that place had been destroyed on that very day. The King then summoned a council of his ministers and officers, and addressed them as follows :—'The walls of the city of Pugan are low and enclose too small a space to permit all the soldiers, elephants and horses to remain comfortably within, and defend them. I propose, therefore, to build a strong wall, extending from the eastward, from the village of Balen in the upper part of the river straight down to the southward, taking in the village Yonatha. But it is not possible just now to procure bricks and stones quickly; if we break down some of the temples and use the bricks, we shall be able to complete this wall most expeditiously.' Accordingly 1,000 large arched temples, 1,000 smaller ones, and 4,000 square temples were destroyed. During this operation, a sheet of copper, with a royal prediction inscribed on it, was found in one of the temples. The words were, 'In the

city of Pugan, in the time of the father of twins, the Chinese destroying will be destroyed.' The King thereupon made enquiries among the royal women, and learnt that a young concubine had just given birth to twins.

"As his Majesty now believed that even if he built the intended fortification, he would be unable to defend it, he caused 1,000 boats with figure-heads and warboats to be made ready, and embarked in them all his gold and silver and treasures; 1,000 cargo-boats also he loaded with paddy and rice; in 1,000 state boats he embarked all his ministers and officers, and in the gilded state boats, his concubines and female attendants. But as the boats could not accommodate all the royal concubines and female attendants, who were very numerous, the King said, 'These women and servants are too numerous to be all embarked in the boats, and if we leave them here, the Chinese will seize and take possession of them; tie their hands and feet together, therefore, and throw them into the river.' The King's teacher, however, observed: 'In the whole circle of animal existence, the state of man is the most difficult of attainment, and to attain that state during the time of a Buddha, is also most difficult. There can be no occasion for your Majesty to commit the evil deed of throwing these people into the water. Such an act will be for ever talked of even among kings,

and will be registered in the records of the Empire. Let your Majesty, therefore, grant permission for any person to take such of the royal female attendants as cannot be embarked in the royal boats, and by so doing, your Majesty will be said not only to have granted them their lives, but to have afforded them protection.' The King replied, 'Very true,' and set at liberty 300 of the female servants of the interior of the palace, who were taken and carried away by different inhabitants of the city.

"The King then embarked in his gilded accommodation boat, and retired to the Talaing city of Bathein (Bassein). Nanda-peetzeen, and Yanda-peetzeen, after the loss of Ngayounggyan, retreated and built a couple of stockades on the eastward slope of the male mountain, where they again resisted the Chinese. Both the Generals, holding some fixed * quicksilver in their mouths, leaped fifteen and sixteen cubits high in the air at a time and attacked the Chinese. But whilst fighting in this manner, an arrow, which had been discharged by one of the nats of the two countries, who were contending in the air, struck Nanda-peetzeen, and threw him lifeless to the ground.

"In consequence of this event, and the Chinese army being very numerous, victory was unattainable,

* Burmese alchemists value fixed or dead quicksilver very highly for its supposed miraculous powers.

and defeat again ensued. The Chinese pursued vigorously, and the Pugan generals retreated, keeping their force as much together as possible. On arriving at Pugan, and finding that the King and the whole of the population had left that city and had fled to the Talaing country, the army followed them to Bassein. The Chinese continued the pursuit until they reached Taroupmau, but their army, owing to the great distance which it had marched and its great numbers, began to experience a scarcity of provisions, and was induced to turn back from that place.

"In the Burmese year 646 (A.D. 1284) the King Naratheehapadi fled in fear of the Chinese. Hence he is styled Taroup-pyee-meng, the king who fled from the Chinese.

"After remaining five months at Bassein, the King hearing that the Chinese had retreated from Pugan, made arrangements for returning thither. On his way up the river, it is recorded that on one occasion, his cooks having been able to serve him up a dinner of only 150 dishes, instead of the 300 to which he had always sat down every day, he covered his face with his hands and wept, saying, 'I am become a poor man.' Shortly after, on his arrival off Prome, he was poisoned by his own son, the Governor of that place."

Bhodau Phra, the third son of Alompra, and sixth

King of the dynasty, was one of the most powerful and ruthless sovereigns of Burma in modern times. He established himself on the throne, and crushed out rebellion by merciless cruelty and slaughter. The predecessor of Bhodau Phra was put to death by him; his women and children were burnt alive. Conspiracies were formed against the new king; they were soon rooted out. One plot was hatched in the village of Poungha. Bhodau Phra dragged every inhabitant of Poungha from his home. Young and old, women and priests, were all assembled together and burnt alive in one vast holocaust. The village was razed to the ground; the trees and plants in the gardens were cut up and burnt; the site was turned up with a ploughshare; and a stone was set up on the spot as a perpetual malediction.

Father Sangermano, an Italian priest, who laboured as a missionary in Burma during the greater part of the reign of Bhodau Phra, has left an authentic account of this King. Bhodau Phra founded a new capital, and gave it the name of Amarapúra.* He ordered all the inhabitants of Ava to remove to it. The royal order was carried out with extreme rigour. Father Sangermano says "that no words can express the sufferings, the fatigues, the exactions, and the oppressions which were brought about by this change of capital!"

* "City of the Immortals."

Shortly after the peopling of Amarapúra a Talaing rebellion broke out in Pegu. The story of this revolt is characteristic, and illustrates the kind of insurrections which occur even in the present day. A Talaing of some mark dreamed that the kingdom of Pegu would be taken from the Burmese and restored to the Talaings. This ridiculous circumstance led three hundred Talaings to join together in a plot for driving the Burmese out of Pegu and placing the Talaing dreamer upon the throne. These men entered Rangoon one night with knives concealed in their jackets, and murdered the Burmese Viceroy of Pegu. The Burmese garrison fled in a panic out of Rangoon. Meanwhile the Talaings sent out messengers in all directions to collect a large force of Talaings from the neighbouring towns and villages. Early next morning the Burmese discovered the weakness of the insurrection. They re-entered Rangoon and slaughtered every one of the Talaings. The Talaing population from the country round about approached Rangoon in innumerable boats. They were cannonaded by the Burmese soldiers, assailed on all sides, and put to the sword.

Shortly after this rebellion had been suppressed, Bhodau Phra sent a large force to conquer the kingdom of Arakan. The Burmese did not enter Arakan as invaders. They went in the guise of

Buddhist * pilgrims, and declared that their only object was to pay their adoration to a great bronze idol of Gautama Buddha, which was set up in the city of Arakan. By this pious fraud they obtained possession of the capital and kingdom. They carried away the idol to Amarapúra and placed it in a splendid pagoda which was built for it by Bhodau Phra.

The conquest of Arakan turned the head of Bhodau Phra. He threatened to subdue Siam, China, and India. He marched a large army to the frontier to invade Siam. At the frontier his courage gave way. He was seized with a panic. He turned back to Rangoon in such tremor that he left his elephants and stores in the hands of the Siamese. Such alternate fits of arrogance and cowardice are a characteristic of Burmese sovereigns ; they have more than once acted in a similar manner towards the British government.

Bhodau Phra is represented by Father Sangermano as a monster of cruelty and pride, and merciless beyond conception. He was not content with the execution of rebels, but delighted in wholesale massacres in which the innocent were slaughtered with the guilty. His ambition was boundless. He

* During my term of office as Chief Commissioner of British Burma, the present King sent a large body of Buddhist pilgrims to Arakan, and a report got abroad that a similar stratagem was to be attempted as that carried out by Bhodau Phra.

sought to be regarded as a divine being, and affected to be a Buddha.* He made extraordinary sacrifices to attain his object. In imitation of Gautama he cast aside his sovereignty; he withdrew from his palace, leaving behind all his queens and concubines, and took up his abode in a religious building. But the Buddhist monks would not believe in him; they proved from their sacred books that he could not possibly be a Buddha. He argued, he pleaded, he threatened, but could not persuade them to believe. At last he was disgusted, and returned to his palace and re-assumed the reins of sovereign power. From that time up to the end of his reign

* Guatama, the last Buddha, commanded that his statue and relics should be carefully preserved and adored for five thousand years, during which period his laws would be observed. After the expiration of that time his laws ceased to be binding, and another Buddha would appear and promulgate a new code. Although not half of this period had elapsed Bhodau Phra persisted that he was Gautama's successor. One of his illusions was that he could be—like Sir Boyle Roche's bird—in two places at the same time. Guatama is believed to have had this power, and he evidenced it as a proof of his Buddhaship. His courtiers, to get out of the difficulty, it is said, tried to persuade him that he was one of the Pakkekabuddhas, or semi-Buddhas, who are believed to appear at intervals between Buddhas; but he would hear of nothing less than that he was the "whole animal." Buddha is a title not a name. A Mahāgabbă, or great system, or creation of universes, is characterised by the presence of twenty-six Buddhas; a Būddagabbă, or system such as the present mundane universe, is marked by a smaller number; the present is distinguished by five Buddhas, four of whom have already appeared. viz., Kōkoothănda, Kōnagammă, Kāthăbă, and Gautămă, the fifth Arimăitrīya, the Buddha of kindness is still to appear. He will be the twenty-sixth Buddha of this Mahāgabbă, and will close the number; the universe will be utterly annihilated, and then perhaps

"Novus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."

It is curious to observe how universal is the belief that there will be one more manifestation of the Divinity, which will terminate the present dispensation.

he became bitterly hostile to the priesthood, so much so, that the order had scarcely any ostensible existence. He died in 1819.

Phagyi-dau was the grandson and successor of Bhodau Phra. He was haughty and overbearing like Bhodau Phra—but without his ability. His arrogant conduct in demanding the surrender of political refugees, and threats regarding the cession to him of territory in Eastern Bengal, forced on the first Burmese War of 1824-26.

The claim to territory was put forth in a manner which shows the real character of the Burmese. After their conquest of Arakan the Nâf river was the boundary between Bengal and Burma. The Burmese began by demanding custom duties from British subjects proceeding up this river in boats. A fray ensued; a British subject was killed. To prevent further outrages a British force was posted on a small island, named Shahpuri, which lay off a tongue of land on the British side of the Nâf. The Burmese claimed possession of Shahpuri. They would listen to no agreement; refused to negotiate. and demanded the surrender of the island. They threatened that unless the island was given up, they would invade the British Territories and take possession of Chittagong, Dacca and Moorshedabad, which belonged to them as being ancient dependencies of Arakan.

Lord Amherst was at that time Governor-General of India. He was prepared to make any concession short of an acknowledgment of inferiority. But war was inevitable. The Burmese themselves commenced hostilities. A considerable force, under the Burmese General, Bundúla, crossed the frontier from Arakan and attacked and defeated a detachment of our Sepoys at Ramoo. The government of India sent an expedition against Rangoon. When the English landed at Rangoon Bundúla took the command of the Burmese army. The war began in bombast, and ended in a panic.

Bundúla was defeated at Rangoon and fled in hot haste to Donabew, where he constructed earthworks, fortified with stockades and abattis, which he thought was impregnable. His army at Donabew is said to have numbered twenty thousand men. He maintained strict discipline after the Burmese fashion. He ordered one of his offending generals to be sawn asunder between two planks. The British force thought to capture the works by a *coup de main*, but suffered a repulse. A regular siege was then commenced, and in firing half-a-dozen shells to ascertain the range of the guns, one of the shells killed Bundúla. The other Burmese chiefs offered the command to Bundúla's brother; but he was frightened and declined the honour. The whole of the Burmese army then broke up and

dispersed in all directions. Bundúla's brother fled to Ava, and was put to death within half-an-hour of his arrival.

From that day the Burmese war was a farce. The British had a contempt for the enemy; the Burmese were in a panic of terror. At one time a spy was found in the English camp; instead of shooting him he was employed as a groom. The change of opinion amongst the Burmese was most amusing. Before the war began they fully expected to conquer Bengal. After the dispersion of the army at Donabew they spread the most exaggerated rumours of the English. They declared that the white foreigners were Beloos, or demons, invincible, fierce, and bloodthirsty; that Europeans kept advancing on after their hands had been chopped off at the stockades; that European doctors picked up arms and legs and replaced them after the action. Meanwhile the British army pushed up the Irawadi river as far as Yandabo, within forty miles of Ava. The whole of the Burmese empire was virtually in their hands.

All this time the war in Burma was growing most unpopular in England. Lord Amherst was abused; the conduct of the war was condemned; the grasping covetousness of the East India Company was held up to reprobation. Peace was to be made at any price. The King of Burma, on his part, was anxious

to be quit of the English on any terms. He promised to pay a crore of rupees (equal to a million pounds sterling), and ceded the provinces of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim. He was left in possession of the whole of Ava and Pegu including the maritime city of Rangoon.

The war was a very harassing and expensive one for the British. All arrangements connected with it —more especially during the first year—were ill-conceived, and made in great ignorance of the nature of the climate and the character and resources of the country. At the commencement of the campaign the heavy periodical rains flooding the land impeded the advance, and during this period of inactivity, fever and dysentery broke out amongst the troops to a frightful extent, causing the casualties from disease to very far exceed those caused by the enemy. From a return drawn up by the Adjutant-General it appears that during the first year of the war $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the troops were killed in action, while 45 per cent. perished from disease. In the ensuing year the mortality from the same causes had decreased one-half; but the total loss during the war amounted to $72\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the troops engaged.

The Burmese historiographer of the court at Ava drew up a history of the war. It is entered in the Maha-radza-weng, and is a fair illustration of

Burmese ideas of history, and the dependence to be placed upon them. The facts were so recent that the truth could not be wholly withheld. It is, however, pretty well varnished by the Burmese scribe; and, moreover, a pious lesson is introduced, which is highly edifying. I give the translation as it appears in Mr. Crawfurd's journal of his mission to Ava after the conclusion of the war.

"The kula-pyro,* or white strangers of the West, fastened a quarrel upon the Lord of the Golden Palace. They landed at Rangoon, took that place and Prome, and were permitted to advance as far as Yandabo; for the King, from motives of piety and regard to life, made no effort whatever to oppose them. The strangers had spent vast sums of money upon the enterprise, and by the time they reached Yandabo, their resources were exhausted, and they were in great distress. They petitioned the King, who, in his clemency and generosity, sent them large sums of money to pay their expenses back, and ordered them out of the country."

A further account of the reign of Phagyi-dau, and the influence possessed over him by his queen—attributed to sorcery—will be given in a future chapter. In the latter years of his reign, he suffered much from hypochondria, and ultimately became insane. He was deposed and placed in confine-

* Crawfurd's "Embassy to Ava," Vol. I., page 304.

ment by his brother Tharawadi in 1837, and is said to have died in 1845.

Tharawadi was King of Burma when I was transferred to Arakan in 1841. Indeed, as I have said before, it was the hostile attitude assumed by him towards the British Government, that attracted me there. I shall have something to say about Tharawadi in the next chapter.

CHAPTER III.

PERSONAL REMINISCENCES OF ARAKAN, BASSEIN, AND TENASSERIM.

Tharawadi ignores the Treaty of Yandabo.—Threatens to drive the English out of Arakan and Tenasserim.—Marches to Rangoon.—His pusillanimity.—Am pleased with my transfer to Arakan.—Aspect of Burma and Hindostan.—Tumble-down-Dick.—An officer killed by a shark.—Expedition against the Wallengs.—Hill tribes of Arakan.—The Government vessel *Amherst*.—Two extraordinary duels—A snipe shooting feat.—Sporting adventures with "big game."—Appointed to the Arakan Commissiou.—The Punjab campaign.—Proceed to rejoin my Regiment in the Punjab.—Ride from Lahore into Camp.—Battle of Chillianwallah.—Battle of Goojrat.—Storm of Burra Kalra.—Wounded.—Surrender of remnant of Sikh Army at Rawul Pindi.—March to Peshawur.—Return to Sandoway.—Civil duties at Sandoway.—Rumours of war with Burma.—Explore the mountain-passes.—Tharawadi deposed.—The Págan Meng ascends the throne.—His character.—Atrocities committed by his Minister.—His torture and death.—British subjects ill-treated by Governor of Rangoon.—Commodore Lambert sent with his squadron to demand reparation.—Governor of Rangoon superseded.—Arrogant conduct of new Governor.—Squadron fired upon by the Burmese.—Burmese ports blockaded.—War proclaimed.—Province of Pegu annexed to British Empire.—Revolution at Amarapoora.—Págan Meng deposed and the Mengdon Meng becomes King.—He refuses to sign a treaty of peace.—Lord Dalhousie defines his own boundary of the newly conquered territory.—Appointed Deputy Commissioner of Bassein.—The great anarchy prevailing there.—Description of the District.—Burmese dacoits.—Expeditions against the dacoits and marauding bands.—Defeat and death of the Meng-gyee, or Governor of Bassein.—Defeat of the Ex-chief Myathtoon and capture of his stronghold.—A military police corps organised.—Oppressive conduct of the new Burmese civil officials.—Horrible murder committed by a Myo-ok.—Elephant shooting.—Karen rebellion.—Karen traditions.—Boundary fixed between Tenasserim and Siam.—Timber trade of Maulmain.—Ghost story.—Sporting anecdotes.

WHEN I left Bengal in 1841 there was great excitement in Calcutta. Tharawadi had succeeded Phagyi-

dau on the throne of Ava, and had already shown himself to be as arrogant, cruel, and restless as any of his predecessors. He spoke with great contempt of the English Government; declared that the treaty of Yandabo was not binding upon him. He made a great show of military preparations at the capital, and threatened to drive the English out of Arakan and Tenasserim. Everyone appeared anxious for the safety of the British provinces on the Burmese frontier. At the time I landed in Arakan, Tharawadi was actually on his march to Rangoon.*

Tharawadi, previous to his accession to the throne, was fond of the society of Europeans, and a great favourite with his own people on account of his affability and liberality. But immediately he became King, his disposition appeared suddenly to change. He turned morose, and committed great barbarities. His brother Phagyi-dau's favourite queen, and her brother Meng-tha-gyee, both of whom had exercised great influence during the preceding reign, were executed with frightful barbarity, and the Ministers, after being compelled to work as common labourers on the roads, were ultimately put to death. The deposed King's only son Tsakya-meng, on a false charge of treason, together with his whole family

* So called from Yan, victory, and Kon, accomplished. This name was given to the town by Alompra, on his totally defeating there the Crown Prince of Pegu and his famous general, Da-la-ban.

and household, were also put to death; and every encouragement was given to oppress and plunder all who had been in power during the former reign.

A British Resident had remained at Ava from 1830 to 1837, and had succeeded in exercising some influence for good over Phagyi-dau: but it was impossible for a British officer to submit to the arrogance of Tharawadi. Three Residents retired one after another. The last went in 1840. When he departed from the capital, Tharawadi began his preparations for war.

All our martial hopes of a war with the "Golden Foot," however, soon vanished into thin air. When Tharawadi reached Rangoon in 1841, he began to cool down. The place and its surroundings brought up disagreeable memories of the defeat and destruction of the Burmese forces. His courage seemed to have oozed away. He confined his operations to casting a big bell for the Shwé Dagon Pagoda; and then returned to his new capital at Amarapúra.

Notwithstanding my disappointment, I had no reason to repent my transfer from Bengal to Burma. I was delighted with Arakan. The old Arakan battalion, whose head-quarters was fixed at Akyab,*

* The old capital of Arakan was situated in the interior of the country on a branch of the Kuladan river. But, shortly after our taking possession of the country, from the reputed unhealthiness, inaccessibility, and distance from the sea of the old city, a new site was chosen on a large land-locked estuary at the mouth of the Kuladan river, forming a safe harbour. A small fishing village

was a very social corps. The country abounded with game of every kind and size, from the snipe to the elephant. Moreover, I was soon engaged on active service of a somewhat adventurous kind, of which I shall have something to say hereafter.

The aspect of Burma differs as widely from that of Hindustan as their respective inhabitants. Approaching the coast from Calcutta, after leaving the mouth of the Ganges, the first land seen is that of Arakan. The shore rises abruptly from the sea, in ranges of undulating hills covered by luxuriant vegetation. Even the massive black rocks on which the waves of the Indian Ocean unceasingly surge and break, are crowned with the evergreen foliage of perpetual spring. Entering the harbour of Akyab, one of the first objects which strikes the attention, is a very remarkable rock projecting at an angle over a cliff in the midst of an irregular convoluted heap of boulders; which has gained for itself, from British sailors, the quaint sobriquet of "Tumble-down-Dick," and has been attributed to the agency of witchcraft by the Asiatic mind.

The sands, all along the coast, are admirably adapted for bathing; and there is no greater luxury in a warm climate like that of Burma, than a dip in

existed on this site called Tseet-way, and by which name Akyab is known by the natives of the country. We named the new town Akyab, from an old pagoda which stood near the village, called Akyat-dau.

the cool sea. Bathing, however, was not without its terrors. Shortly after my arrival at Akyab, a tragical affair happened which deeply impressed itself on my memory. Captain Lumsden—the Civil Officer in charge of the Aeng District, whose head-quarters, as also that of a regiment of Bengal Native Infantry, was at Kyouk Phyoo,* situated about seventy miles south of Akyab—when bathing off the station one day, with a number of the officers of the regiment, swam out to sea at a considerable distance from his companions, and was attacked by a shark.

His screams soon told what had happened. Two of the officers swam gallantly out to help him. They brought him in, but he expired on reaching the shore. His flesh had been torn away, chiefly from the thighs in a horrible manner, and the femoral artery divided. Indeed, owing to the formation of its teeth,† no wounds can well be worse than those inflicted by the shark. The two men who brought him in had a narrow escape. The blood of the dying man attracted other sharks to the spot. The dorsal fins of five very large ones were seen very shortly afterwards, cruising up and down the

* *Kyouk*, rock, and *Phyoo*, white—White Rock Station—so called from a light-coloured sandstone rock off the harbour's mouth, and which affords a good landmark for entering the harbour.

† The teeth of the shark are arranged in several series, one within the other, of a triangular form, sharply pointed, and serrated at the edges.

very spot where Captain Lumsden had been mortally lacerated.

Life in Arakan was a very different thing in those days to what it is now. At Akyab we were as much cut off from the world of civilization, as if we had been posted beyond the Himalaya mountains. The Cabul war was being brought to a close. The army of occupation was being cut to pieces by the wild tribes in the Khyber pass. Long before the news reached Calcutta, and longer still before it reached Akyab, I was detached for active service in a very different quarter.

A wild hill tribe, known as the Wallengs, had committed several raids on British territory; each time they had retired with impunity to their natural fastnesses. I was appointed to the command of a detachment of the battalion which was sent to punish the Wallengs. I was accompanied by the Senior Assistant Commissioner of Arakan, the present Sir Arthur Phayre, who is now Governor of the Mauritius; but the military command devolved solely on myself.

The service was not an easy one. The principal stronghold of the Wallengs was perched on the top of a precipice, which could only be ascended by ladders. I need not dilate upon the difficulties and perils we encountered. It will suffice for me to say, that I succeeded in dislodging the Wallengs,

and inflicted such a punishment that no more raids were repeated for years afterwards. For this service I received the thanks of the Government. The official papers which tell the story of this expedition will be found in the Appendix to the second volume.*

This expedition against the Wallengs was my first introduction to the Hill Tribes of Arakan. These people have inhabited the impenetrable tracts of hill and jungle beyond our frontier from an unknown antiquity. They are all primitive savages, more or less civilized according to their distance from provinces under British administration. Their religion is a child-like reverence for the spirits or genii of the hills and streams, whom they propitiate with offerings of fowls, pigs, and strong liquors. They practice a rude kind of cultivation, which is a relic of times primeval. They burn away the jungle from some available slope, and then dibble in the grain with a kind of spud, the ashes serving as manure. Under such a system the same spot can only be cultivated about once in ten years. Accordingly the people of a hill village often migrate from one site to another, carrying with them their families, household goods, pigs, and dogs.

Whether civilization will ever penetrate these

* Appendix A.

pathless wilds is a problem of the future. Up to the present day the chief object of the British administration has been to protect British subjects from their kidnapping raids. I have reason to believe that the measures which were initiated in after years during my own administration as Chief Commissioner of British Burma, have done something towards putting a stop to their lawless inroads.

At this period regular communication between Akyab and Calcutta was kept up by a single Government sailing vessel named the "Amherst." The *Amherst* appeared at Akyab about once every six weeks. After each trip she remained at anchor for about a week, in the Akyab harbour. Her arrival was an event in our social history. She brought us our mess stores, the latest intelligence from Europe, and all the gossip and scandal of Bengal.

Captain Patterson, the Commander, was a very popular man. The *Amherst* was generally filled with passengers from Calcutta,—Bengal civilians, staff officers, and others, who had escaped from the heats of the City of Palaces, to enjoy the sea air of the Bay of Bengal. Whilst the *Amherst* anchored at Akyab, her passengers were generally made honorary members of the Arakan battalion mess. Visitors were scarce in those days, and we

had a rollicking time of it. The week was not only a pleasure whilst it lasted, but furnished us with topics for conversation after it had passed away. It will therefore be readily understood, that we hailed the arrival of the "Amherst" with delight, and beheld her departure with wistful eyes.

There was one feature of social life in those days which has now utterly passed away. I allude to the practice of duelling. In my early days a duel sometimes came off, but always under great risk; as principals, seconds, and all concerned were liable to be cashiered. One of the officers who tried to save poor Captain Lumsden, was afterwards cashiered on account of a duel. Wine was generally at the bottom of the mischief. There was more so-called conviviality in those days, than in the present sober generation.* Men flushed with wine were too ready to give or take offence; and when they became sober they shrank from retracting their words, or offering an apology, lest they should be suspected of showing the white feather.

The most remarkable duel that ever came under my immediate notice, is a case in point. The Commandant of our battalion, was a man of great

* The *good old times* of "no heel taps," when the door of the mess-room was often locked after dinner, and the key placed in the president's pocket, so as to allow no officer to leave the table and "shirk his liquor," has now happily passed away.

social qualities, but a hot tempered Irishman. He has been dead some thirty years, so there is no harm in telling a story about him. One night during a game at billiards, a dispute arose between the Commandant and a civilian. Unfortunately, the civilian was an Irishman likewise, and his temperament was equally fiery. A challenge passed between the two. It was in the small hours, but the disputants were so angry, that they refused to wait till daylight. They insisted on fighting the duel at once by torchlight.

I shall never forget the absurd uproar of the scene. The rage of the principals, the gravity of the seconds, the excitement of the lookers-on. Lighted torches were procured. The principals were posted in the compound* which surrounded the mess-house. The signal was given; both fired a shot; as good luck would have it, no one was hurt. The seconds promptly interfered; they refused to allow another shot to be fired; they declared that the honour of both was satisfied, and that the duel must not go on.

The indignation of the principals was beyond all bounds. The Commandant especially was in such a towering passion that he called his second a

* An East Indian term; it means a yard or enclosure round a building, and is a corruption of the Portuguese word *campania*. Yule, however, thinks—and he is probably right—that Compound is derived from the Malay word *Kampong*, and was introduced by the Portuguese from the Straits of Malacca, together with other words in common use in India, such as *Paddy*, Malay, *Padi*, unhusked rice.

coward. The matter was allowed to stand over till the morning. By this time all parties had cooled down. The expression was withdrawn; the word was explained away. The Commandant declared that he charged his second with moral cowardice only, not with physical! The apology was accepted under the circumstances, and nothing further was said of the matter.

In the last century duelling was an established institution in India. Almost every man in society, military or civil, had, at one time or other, fought, or been concerned in, a duel. The late East India Company strove in vain to stop the practice. They were actuated partly by a laudable desire to prevent their servants from slaughtering each other; and partly from the loss which a killed or disabled officer brought on the public treasury.

A brigade was stationed in Oude. There was constant rivalry between the Cavalry and Infantry. The quarrels were frequent, and so were the duels. Whenever an officer was killed, another officer had to be sent up country, at a vast expense, to fill his place, whilst another one was sent out from England. The Court of Directors grew irritated and alarmed. At last they issued the most peremptory orders that any officer convicted of fighting a duel should be cashiered. These orders were duly forwarded to the Brigade. The officers were filled with conster-

nation. There was no mistaking the order. No one wanted to be cashiered; yet it was obvious to all that the rivalry between the two arms of the service would still continue. At last, after much cogitation, they determined to settle all questions, present and future, by one great duel between the commandant of the cavalry and the senior officer of the infantry. That duel was to be final. There was no privacy about the matter. The duel came off one fine morning, in the presence of a large portion of the Brigade. The signal was given, and the commandant of the cavalry was shot dead on the spot.

A more sensational event had rarely occurred in the Indian army. The Bengal Government was exasperated in the highest degree. A court-martial was ordered. Fears were entertained that Bengal officers would hesitate to convict a brother officer. Other officers were brought up at a great expense from Madras and Bombay. The court-martial was held; there was no denying the facts. The feeling in favour of duelling was so strong, that it overpowered all other considerations. The result was that the prisoner was acquitted.*

Whilst on duty with the Arakan Battalion, I had

* This anecdote regarding the duel between the two Commandants has never, to the best of my belief, been published. My authority for it is a distinguished officer of the Bengal artillery, lately deceased. I tell it as it was told to me, and those who doubt it may perhaps admit what a certain Cardinal is reported to have said of the New Testament,—"Si non è vero, è ben trovato."

one or two sporting adventures, which may be thought interesting on account of their specialities. In those days there was little cultivation in the neighbourhood of Akyab. The rice, or paddy fields, which are now to be seen extending over many miles, were open wastes, more or less covered with coarse grass and underwood, with occasional trees, and large patches of dense jungle. The consequence was that we often had such sport as would appear incredible to English readers. One evening, when the "Amherst" had brought some visitors from Calcutta, we talked of the bags of snipe we had recently made. Our guests put us down for a regiment of Munchausens. The dispute became somewhat personal; at last some of my friends backed me to shoot * a hundred couple in six hours. My friends shared the wager amongst them; it was readily accepted by the strangers.

Next morning all was ready. The mess tents were pitched near the snipe ground; preparations were made for a general tiffin, and nearly every member of the station was present at the luncheon. I began shooting at ten o'clock; by four o'clock in the afternoon I had bagged 126 couple. The Chaplain of the station was umpire on the occasion,

* I used to be considered a good shot in those days with either gun or pistol. With a pair of Camelford-handled "Joe Manton's" pistols, which had belonged to my father, I could cut the four aces out of a pack of cards at fifteen paces distance in four successive shots with the greatest certainty.

and is still alive to tell the story. He counted the birds as they were brought in. It should be remembered that it was in the days of muzzle-loaders; but I had two guns and one man to load. I consider that my success was mainly owing to the abundance of birds.

Another adventure befel me about this time, which is also, perhaps, worthy of note. I have shot tigers in various parts of Burma, but I never killed one, perhaps, that gave me more sport than the following. I should explain that all post letters that were not sent by sea, were carried through the jungle between Akyab and Chittagong by men known as dâk wallahs, or post-runners. These post-runners were sometimes exposed to great perils from wild beasts. One evening, whilst dining at mess, news arrived that a post-runner had been carried off by a tiger near a village not very far from Akyab. Accordingly a brother officer and myself mounted our horses and rode off to the village. At day-break we set the villagers at work to beat the jungle. At first they were very unwilling to go. They said that the tiger was a man-eater; that some of them would certainly be killed. We promised plenty of rupees; and at last the all-powerful prospect of bucksheesh induced them to encounter the danger.

The haunts of this tiger were thoroughly well-

known to these men. Several of the villagers had already been carried away, and the seizure of the post-runner was a crowning exploit. There was a large open plain near the village, scattered as usual with patches of thick jungle. The tiger's lair was in one of these patches. Accordingly the villagers moved off towards it, whilst my companion and myself ensconced ourselves in two trees just outside the patch, and prepared to fire on the man-eater. My companion had never fired at a tiger before. He was most anxious to have the first shot, and, therefore, posted himself on the tree nearest the spot where the tiger was most likely to break.

Scarcely had the beaters entered the jungle when we knew that they had come upon the tiger. They filled the air with their shouts. They made a still more horrible din with the so-called musical instruments, which they invariably carry with them on such occasions. Presently the brute appeared in the open. It seemed to take no heed of the deafening noise behind; it moved in a most majestic manner towards the tree where my friend was posted. My friend fired his two barrels. The tiger dashed off with his bristles up and his tail erect in the air, towards another patch of jungle. It was evidently wounded, but only slightly. The beaters saw this; they knew that its savageness would be increased by the wound, and they objected

to having anything further to do with the business. We made light of it. There were no trees near this jungle, and we undertook to face the tiger in the open if the beaters would only drive it out. We would then make an end of the matter, kill the man-eater, and deliver the village from all further alarm.

At last they consented to beat again. My companion, as before, wanted the first shot. We both knelt down upon the plain; but my friend was about fifteen paces in front of me. After firing he was to run behind me. The tiger suddenly appeared with a magnificent bound. He gave himself a shake, and then, with all his bristles up, he bore down straight upon us. My companion fired when the tiger was at a considerable distance, missed it, and then ran past me as was agreed upon. When the tiger was within twenty paces of me I fired my first barrel; when he was making his last bound I fired the second. He fell dead upon his head, with his body over me. Fortunately he fell upon his back, or he would have torn me to pieces in his dying agonies.

It is strange that in a moment of excitement like this, every trifling incident is impressed upon the memory for ever. To this day I can see, in my mind's eye, the same things that I saw then. My friend was somewhat vain of his brown hair. He wore it very long, after a fashion in those days

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DEATH OF THE TIGER.

which used to be called "a flow." Charles Dickens used to wear his hair in the same fashion; he did so when Maclise painted his portrait for the first edition of Nicholas Nickleby. My friend lost his hat in running away from the tiger, and as he passed me I could see, through the corners of my eyes, his long brown hair floating in the wind. When I got from under the brute, I saw my friend disappearing over some rising ground, with his hair streaming out in the bright sunshine. I turned round in the opposite direction, and saw the beaters coming out of the jungle. They were stretching out their arms in the air, evidently imagining that I had been destroyed by the tiger. They were undeceived when they saw that I was alive, whilst the brute was lying dead on the ground, and presently my friend reappeared upon the scene. We then examined the tiger. My friend's first shot from the tree had grazed its side. My first bullet had entered the chest, and was found near the stern. My second shot had struck between the eyes and gone through the centre of the brain.

I shot other tigers whilst at Akyab, but none of them showed any particular fight. One day, whilst we were at luncheon, a man came in to say that an old woman had been just carried off by a tiger, whilst drawing water at a well close by. We started immediately on the elephants belonging to the Battery

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which was attached to our corps. On this occasion we came upon three tigers, and bagged them all.

After four years I left my regiment, and entered the Arakan Commission, in other words, I left military duty, and began to take a part in the civil administration of the province. In 1846 I was promoted to the grade of Deputy Commissioner, and placed in charge of the Sandoway district. It was in the interior of this district that I first shot a rhinoceros. A native huntsman told me that it was the habit of the rhinoceros to deposit its dung from day to day on the same spot. He added that if I would accompany him to a certain spot which he mentioned he could show me one rhinoceros, if not several. I could scarcely believe him, but the promised sport overpowered all other considerations. I placed myself under his guidance. We started about midnight, and proceeded through the jungle by torchlight. It was still dark when we halted, under a gigantic peepul tree,* put out our torches, and waited for the morning.

Dawn was just breaking when I saw two large forms approaching, looming through the twilight. The first was passing me within ten paces. I fired both barrels of my heavy rifle. The brute fell at once; the other one escaped. The balls had struck the animal behind the left foreleg; its death must

* *Ficus religiosa.*

have been almost instantaneous. On examining the ground round about, I found that the animals had been wallowing in a pool. A track ran from this pool, past the peepul tree, to a dense forest of trees which covered the hills beyond. No doubt the animals remained in the shades of the forest during the heat of the day. At night they descended into the low lands to feed. About thirty yards from the peepul tree, on the way to the forest, was a heap of dung. Possibly, if the two animals had not been interrupted, they would have halted at the same spot. My huntsman declared they would have done so, and I see no reason to doubt his word.

The animal shot was a fine male specimen of the *Rhinoceros Sondaicus*, the lesser one-horned rhinoceros.* It is about a third smaller than *R. Indicus*. It is readily distinguished from the *R. Indicus* by having the tubercles of the hide uniformly of the same small size, also by having a fold or plait of the skin crossing the nape, in addition to that behind the shoulder blades.

I have also shot several specimens of the two other species of Rhinoceros which exist in Burma, namely, the *Ceratorhinus Crossii*, and *Rhinoceros Sumatrensis*. Both are two-horned. In the former type the hide is comparatively thin, of a pale clay colour, covered with longish brown hairs. The skin

* Blyth's "Catalogue of Mammals and Birds," page 51.

is not tesselated nor tuberculated, nor does it form a coat of mail.* The latter type is a much smaller species. It has a rugose black skin, clad with

HEAD OF A RHINOCEROS.

bristly hairs. I have often heard natives speak of its "eating" fire. They say it has a propensity to attack the night fires of travellers. When Professor Oldham was engaged on a geological survey in the jungles of the Mergui district, his camp fires

* I shot a very fine male specimen of this species in the Tavoy district. It was described and figured by my late friend, Mr. Edward Blyth, the eminent naturalist. (See the "Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal," vol. xxi. p. 156.) Mr. Blyth was of opinion that the specimen I shot served to settle the question in his favour against Grey's assignment of this species to *Rhinoceros Sumatrensis*, which, as stated in the text, is a much smaller species.

were attacked and dispersed by an animal which is supposed to have belonged to this species.

The Rhinoceros tribe wander about much during the night in search of food, when they frequent marshy ground, and wallow in its mud. During the day time they prefer high ground, where such is to be found in the vicinity of their feeding places. When disturbed they utter a peculiar shrill cry, not unlike the scream of a steam whistle. "As is well known, the existing Asiatic rhinoceroses are sharply differentiated from those of Africa by the presence, throughout life, of well-developed and functional incisor teeth."* The one-horned† species has eight incisors, four in the upper, and four in the lower jaw; and the double-horned‡ half this number. The form of the lower incisors are peculiarly calculated for uprooting plants, and stripping off the bark of trees, which form its favourite food. The horns are not

* Professor W. H. Flower.

† "*Rhinoceros unicornis* is generally supposed to be the Hebrew 'Reem,' or Unicorn of Scripture (Numbers xxiii. 72; Deut. xxxiii. 17; Job xxxix. 9, 10; Isaiah xxxiv. 7). In the Septuagint, or Greek version of the Old Testament, the word is translated Μονοκέρως, or Unicorn, except in Isaiah, where it is rendered Ἄδροι (or the mighty or powerful ones). Some are of opinion that the word signified the Oryx, observing that 'Reem' is the Arabic name for a species of wild-goat or gazelle. The better opinion seems to be that the animal or animals intended to be designated in most of the passages quoted, if not in all, was or were the *Rhinoceros unicornis*, or great Asiatic one-horned Rhinoceros. The description in Job (chap. xxxix.) would almost forbid the conclusion that any animal was in the writer's mind except one of surpassin bulk and indomitable strength."—English Cyclopædia, p. 589.

‡ The skull of the two-horned rhinoceros figured above, is peculiar in having *two* incisors on the left of the lower jaw, altogether *five*.

attached to the skull, as generally supposed, but to the hide; are solid, and formed of congregated parallel horny fibres. They are much valued by the Chinese, and other Eastern nations, for certain alleged restorative properties, and as remedies for epilepsy, and against the effects of poison.*

I have also shot a tapir† in the same locality as the above. It is a most inoffensive animal. Its flesh is not good to eat, and it affords no trophy worth taking away. After killing one, though I often came upon their footprints, I never afterwards followed them up.

There are four species of Bovidæ in Burma: *Bos Gaurus*, *B. Frontalis*, *B. Sondaicus* and *Bubulus Arni;* a number of each of which I have shot, and kept fine specimens of their heads. The first named is the grandest species, and attains, like the elephant, a finer development in Burma than elsewhere. The horns are short and thick, and the skull large and very massive. The largest I shot stood twenty-one hands at the shoulder. The bulls are very

* In the narrative of the "Voyage of Mr. James Lancaster," who visited the Indian Seas with "three tall ships in the yeere 1591," when off a town situated between Malacca and Pegu he speaks of the horn of the Abatto or unicorn being considered as an antidote against poison. He states: "We sent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-griese, and for the hornes of Abatto, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abatto is a beast which hath one horne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Vnicorne, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soueraigne remedie against poyson!"—Hakluyt, vol. ii. p. 491.

† *Tapirus Malayanus.*

fierce, and much dreaded by the natives. The old solitary ones almost invariably charge. It is often called in India the "bison," which is a misnomer, the difference between the two animals being not merely specific but generic.

But I must reserve further stories of sporting adventures for a future page. In 1848 I was called away to active service by the breaking out of the second Sikh war. Lord Hardinge's benevolent effort to save the Punjab from annexation had utterly failed. There was an outbreak in Mooltan, in which Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson were brutally murdered. Shortly afterwards, a formidable conspiracy was discovered at Lahore. All the Sepoys were to be won over to the cause of the Sikh conspirators; all the British officers in the Punjab were to be murdered; all British influence was to be driven out of the Punjab. Sir Frederic Currie was resident at Lahore; how he discovered the conspiracy, and crushed it at the outset, are matters of history. But the whole country was ripe for revolt. Whilst General Whish was besieging Mooltan, the Sikh army was in rebellion under Shere Shing.

Lord Dalhousie had arrived in India early in the year as Governor-General. He was prepared from the beginning to re-establish the prestige of British supremacy. When he saw that annexation was the

only alternative, he carried it out with a high hand. It was about this time that he made his celebrated announcement at a public dinner at Calcutta:—"The Sikhs are resolved on war; they shall have it with a vengeance."

All the officers in civil employ in Arakan were ordered to rejoin their regiments. We proceeded together to Calcutta in a pilot vessel. At Calcutta we had to start in palanquins for Lahore, a journey of about 1,400 miles. We travelled day and night, but were fifteen days on the way; the journey may now be accomplished by railway in three days. At Lahore we were in difficulty. The army was encamped at Heelah, on the banks of the Chenab river, some eighty miles off. The country between Lahore and the camp was overrun with the enemy's light horse, and it was supposed to be unsafe to travel without a strong escort. Accordingly, we waited at Lahore for a convoy which was to carry commissariat stores into camp. Fortunately, I was personally known to Sir Frederic Currie, and he kindly invited me to stay at the Residency until I could join my regiment.

One morning at breakfast, Sir Frederic Currie received a dispatch from Lord Gough, the Commander-in-Chief. Lord Gough had been reconnoitring the Sikh positions in company with Major Mackeson, the political officer attached to his staff.

He informed the Resident that he was resolved on bringing the Sikh army very shortly to a general action. My host handed the dispatch to me to read, and remarked that if I wished to be present at the battle, I must go at once. I expressed my anxiety to be off, and he kindly offered an escort of twenty troopers for myself and any officers that might like to accompany me. He told me, however, that I must take the risk upon myself, as he could not be responsible for disasters.

I soon found a couple of officers as eager as myself. We started next morning, carrying nothing with us but our arms. The Resident gave us a written order on Heads of villages, to give us every help in their power. The Assistant Resident gave us a sketch of the country, and this with a pocket compass was our only guide to camp; for all the direct roads were in the possession of the enemy. We had scarcely got twenty miles from Lahore, when our escort wanted to halt. The men said that their horses could carry them no further. We told them we must go on at all hazards; that if they could not accompany us they might rest their horses and return to Lahore.

We then rode on without an escort. About half way between Lahore and the camp, we came upon a number of carts which had been plundered and upset; they were carrying shopkeeper's wares

to camp, when the Sikhs stopped them and carried away the contents. In the distance we saw several bodies of horsemen. We made straight for a walled village about three miles off, and luckily reached it without attracting attention. We congratulated ourselves at having got rid of the escort. Three horsemen could pass unnoticed; twenty-three would have been attacked and overwhelmed.

We stopped at the village till evening, and recruited ourselves and our horses. We then started off again, and reached camp without any further adventures, about five o'clock on the following morning. Then I began to feel the inconvenience of having joined the camp without a single change of clothes. Fortunately, I fell in with my old friend and shipmate, John Nicholson. He sent me six camels, a tent, clothing, servants, and everything I could require until I was able to provide myself with what was necessary.

Subsequently, I heard that tinned provisions had been fired upon our force. The hermetically sealed tins plundered from the carts, had apparently been mistaken by the Sikhs for canister shot; and the consequences was that salmon, green peas, carrots, and solid soups had been fired upon us.*

The horse, "Bob Allan," I rode from Lahore to

* Something of the same kind is said to have occurred during the first Sikh war.

camp, was a valuable Arab, for which I had to pay a high price. He had been in training for the Lahore Races, but the meeting had been stopped by the war. He carried me beautifully, At camp I put him again in training, and he won me two of the best prizes at our camp Races, namely, the Maiden Arabs, and the All Horses.

As it turned out there was no occasion for our hazardous ride to camp. The general action did not take place until some weeks after our arrival.

I need hardly describe the hard-fought battle of Chilianwallah; it is a matter of history. After the action, our army was drawn up for more than a month in front of the Sikh position. Between us was the battle field of Chilianwallah, still strewed with many of the unburied dead. At last General Whish captured Mooltan, and was enabled to join Lord Gough with all the force under his command. The Sikhs suddenly disappeared from our front and marched on to Goojrat. On the 21st of February 1849, Lord Gough fought the great battle of Goojrat. It was not such a hard fought-battle as Chilianwallah. We had more guns and the day was chiefly won by artillery, but for all that it was a splendid victory. From that day the whole of the Punjab became virtually British territory.

During this battle an incident occurred to myself; and I am half doubtful whether to relate it, or to

pass it over in silence. I have already told stories of myself; and I fear that in the course of my narrative, I shall be tempted to tell many others. By so doing I lay myself open to the charge of egotism, but unless I indulge in such personal details, I know not how I can convey an accurate impression of every-day life in India and Burma. One thing is certain; so long as I mention matters in which I myself am concerned, my narrative is, at any rate, authentic. The only question therefore, I mean to ask myself before telling a story, is whether the reader is likely to be interested or wearied. I may fall into occasional errors upon this point, because I may delude myself into the belief that what interests myself may interest others; but I must run the risk. If my reader is interested I can bear the censure; if he is wearied, I can only hope that he is too weary to condemn.

Towards the close of the battle of Goojrat, whilst I was lying down under fire with my regiment, Sir Walter Gilbert rode up with his staff. He directed the brigadier to dispatch an officer with a couple of companies to take possession of Burra Kalra. This was a strong position to the left of the Sikh line. Our guns had been playing on it for some time, and it appeared to have been deserted. I was selected for the duty. I got my men within about three hundred yards of the position, when the place became

suddenly alive with Sikhs; they had concealed themselves behind the broken ramparts, and as we approached they opened a heavy fire. Fortunately we found ourselves in a corn field in which there was a ridge, that had been used for irrigation purposes. I consulted the Brigade Major* who had accompanied me in the advance, and we agreed that I should lie down with my men behind this ridge, whilst he went back for orders. Presently he returned with instructions for us to remain as we were. Shortly afterwards the whole division moved up to our support, and stormed the position. It was during this attack I received my wounds. Meantime our whole line advanced against the enemy. The Sikhs broke and fled, leaving nearly all their guns behind them. The few they managed to carry away were delivered up to us at Rawul Pindee.

I accompanied the force under Sir Walter Raleigh Gilbert in the pursuit of the Sikhs and Afghans, as far as Peshawur. I was present at the surrender of the remnant of the Sikh army, with all their war material at Rawul Pindee. But hostilities were at an end. The Punjab was made over to the civil authorities. I went down the Indus in one of the Government steamers to Kurrachee; and thence returned by Bombay to

* Captain M. E. Sherwill, 2nd European Bengal Fusiliers.

Calcutta by sea, and finally resumed my district duties in Sandoway.

The second Sikh war extended and consolidated the British Empire in the north-west. Many a time during the return voyage did I ponder over this fact; many a time did I consider the probability of the same process of extension and consolidation being carried out in the south-east. If the Punjab had been destined to become an integral part of the British dominion, why not Burma? Eight years had elapsed since Tharawadi had threatened to invade British territory; since then no rumours of hostilities to the eastward of the Bay had disturbed the political atmosphere. But the war element often takes a long time to simmer before it boils over. At the death of Runjeet Sing war was sooner or later inevitable; but nearly a decade passed away before the Punjab was annexed. Moreover, the second Sikh war had broken out at a moment's notice; a second Burmese war might do the same. Meantime there was nothing for it but to return to the old civil work and wait till time should solve the problem.

No country or village in the world can be more quiet than a district of India or Burma under the ordinary routine of British administration. Sandoway was no exception to the general rule. The revenue and judicial work went on much the same

from day to day. So did the filling up of returns, and drafting of reports and dispatches. Beyond occasional sport whilst out in the district, there was little to break the monotony of official life; I used occasionally to feel hot and solitary, like unto Coleridge's Ancient Mariner on the Enchanted Sea;

> "Alone, alone; all all alone;
> Alone in an empty square;
> And never a friend with whom to dine,
> To flirt with never a fair."

And yet on the whole,

> "The strength of gladness
> Came to my spirit in my solitude," *

and I have often found the days pass away more pleasantly amongst the people of the country in these secluded regions, than amongst the gayest doings at head-quarters.

An officer in charge of a district has the power of bettering the condition of thousands, and the habits of the people are so simple, that his personal influence—if they really see that he takes an interest in their welfare—affects them very rapidly, and is one of the great charms of civil employment in the East. In the great round of daily duty, too, nearly every officer has some little hobby of his own. At Sandoway I was much interested in the improve-

* "Revolt of Islam."—Shelley.

ment of the tobacco cultivation,* and I may say that my efforts met with considerable success. The people of Burma are certainly more ready to take a hint from an English officer, where their own interests are concerned, than the people of India, who go on without change from generation to generation. But, no doubt, the besetting failing of the Burmese, in common with all Asiatics, is—inertness; which is most difficult to overcome, and their general character, in this respect, is consonant with that given of the Egyptians of old, that "their strength is to sit still." †

I also succeeded in constructing a lattice bridge of iron-wood across the Sandoway river,‡ after the

* The district of Sandoway used to grow the best tobacco in Burma. I drew up a report on its special characteristics, and the Burmese mode of culture, which was published in vol. viii. of the "Transactions of the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India."

† Isaiah, chap. xxx.

‡ See illustration on opposite page. This view of Sandoway and its bridge appeared in the "Illustrated London News," of 6th December, 1851, with the following description :—

"The station of Sandoway, in Arakan, is famed for its tobacco, and has a considerable trade, also, in rice, timber, and other products. Its romantic and beautiful scenery is very striking. The building to the left, in the illustration, is the residence of the Principal Assistant-Commissioner, Captain Albert Fytche, who holds, in his own person, the responsible duties of civil judge, collector, magistrate of the district, and commandant of frontier police. The structure on the hill is a Buddhist pagoda, called Nan-dau (Royal side-bone), from a relic in the shape of a rib of the last Buddh, Guatama, being supposed to be buried beneath it. The bridge that makes so prominent a feature in the landscape has just been erected; it is a lattice, composed of iron-wood, a species of mahogany, and one of the hardest and most durable woods in the world. The spans between the piles, where the chief strength of the current lies, are 64 feet in clear breadth, to allow the large trees, which are washed down from the landslips in the mountains to pass through. The river, like

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SANDOWAY, ARAKAN.

description of one I had read of having been constructed in America, and which afforded me much pleasurable occupation.

Meanwhile, the Punjab was sobering down, and the political state of the kingdom of Burma at last began to attract the attention of the Indian Government. In those days Sandoway was the frontier district towards Burmese territory. The neighbouring province of Pegu, with its capital and port of Rangoon, belonged to the King of Burma. The native Governor of Pegu was perpetrating such outrages upon merchants at Rangoon, and the masters of British merchant vessels visiting the port, that it was obvious our relations with the King would, sooner or later, end in a rupture. I sent spies out in all directions. They explored the passes through the Yoma mountains, which separate Arakan from Pegu. They visited Amarapúra, the capital of the kingdom, and other chief towns of Burma, and brought me back authentic information of all that was going on. The following details will sufficiently explain the progress of affairs.*

most tropical streams, is an insignificant one in the dry season, but in the rainy one a perfect torrent, rising occasionally 15 to 20 feet in 24 hours. The total length of the bridge is upwards of 600 feet, with a roadway of 14 feet, and certainly reflects great credit on the Principal Assistant-Commissioner, by whom it was designed and constructed."

* The information which I transmitted to the Government of India at this period proved of some importance. I drew up a very full report on the passes through the Yoma mountains; and especially pointed out the reasons why the Aeng Pass was to be preferred to all others. Had the government decided on

When Tharawadi returned to his capital after casting the big bell at Rangoon, he degenerated into a tyrant of the worst form. He indulged in strong liquors to such an extent that at last he became mad. In his paroxysms of rage he would shoot or stab a minister or favourite with his own hands. Such a course could only end in a palace revolution of the Asiatic type. In 1845 he was suddenly placed in confinement. Henceforth he passed away for ever from the eyes of man. There was no public opinion. There was no necessity for proclaiming the death of the King by suicide or otherwise, as appears to have been necessary in the recent revolution at Constantinople. He is said to have been smothered in the recesses of the palace, and there is no reason to doubt the truth of the rumour, which reached me from many different quarters.

The eldest legitimate son of Tharawadi, the Pagán Meng, succeeded to the throne of Burma. He removed the capital from Amarapúra to Ava. He was a slave to low pleasures, such as cock-fighting, ram-fighting, gambling, and debauchery. Strange to say, his minister was a Mussulman. Possibly this fact might be cited as an illustration of

sending a force from Arakan through these passes, which at one time was under consideration, the route through the Aeng Pass would undoubtedly have been adopted.

the tolerance of Buddhist courts. Possibly it only shows that the King refused to trust a minister of his own faith. He was in constant fear lest he should share the fate of his father, Tharawadi. He was cruel enough to condemn all persons suspected of disaffection to the most horrible deaths. Amongst these were two of his brothers, the Pyee-myo-meng, and the Tarop-mau-meng, who were executed, together with their wives and families and the members of their households.

The King was artful enough to let all the blame fall upon his Mussulman minister. Indeed, the minister was fully as unscrupulous as his master. He was exposed to the jealousies of numerous rivals, and he could only hold his own by a reign of terror. At last the people of Ava rose in revolt. The minister was sacrificed to secure the safety of the King. He was made over to the populace, and forced to endure all the agonies he had inflicted on others. Pins were thrust under his nails; hot irons were applied to all parts of his body; his limbs were beaten by sledge-hammers. After three days of torture, he was beheaded at the place of execution with a crowd of his creatures.

Whilst the Court of Ava was in this distracted state, there could be little check on the Governors of provinces. At Rangoon the Burmese Governor did as he pleased. He oppressed his own subjects, and

insulted foreigners. He filled his coffers by despotic exactions, and there was no one to oppose him. British subjects laid their complaints before the Government of India; but nothing was done for some time. Indeed, whilst the Punjab absorbed the attention of the Governor-General, he could not be expected to pay much regard to the affairs of Burma.

At last, in 1851, Lord Dalhousie was roused to action. Two British subjects, Captains Lewis and Shepherd, were arrested by the Burmese Governor at Rangoon, thrown into prison, and fined nine hundred rupees; Captain Shepherd is said to have been placed in the Burmese stocks. Lord Dalhousie sent Commodore Lambert with his squadron to demand reparation. He called for the immediate removal of the Governor as a punishment for his offence; and the payment of a sum equivalent to nine hundred pounds sterling as compensation for the losses sustained by Messrs. Lewis and Shepherd.

The Burmese authorities displayed at this period that mixture of pride and pusillanimity which is so characteristic of the people. They still remembered the first Burmese war, but they ascribed their defeat to their want of cannon and discipline. Since then the King had taken European adventurers into his pay; some of them were deserters from the British army. They had manufactured a large

number of cannon, and made some progress in drilling the Burmese infantry. Accordingly, the younger officials were puffed up with the idea that they could cope with the English. They thought that the English knew nothing of the improvements in their army, and would be surprised by the discipline of their forces, and the superiority of their guns.

The King of Burma was not so ready for a war as his officials. On the 1st of January, 1852, he sent a reply to the communication he had received from Lord Dalhousie. He professed an anxious desire to comply with the demands of the Governor-General, and to keep up peaceful relations with the English. On the 4th of January a new Governor came down to Rangoon from Ava, ostensibly to settle the claims of the Government of India. He appears to have thought he could frighten the English. He arrived at Rangoon in all the pomp of royalty. He had a retinue of three thousand men, and an armament of war boats and barges glittering with gilding. He came to a most friendly understanding with the Governor he had come to supersede. During two days the two men had frequent interviews, and the new man appears to have made up his mind for war. At the expiration of that period the ex-Governor went off to Ava with all his ill-gotten gains.

The new Governor ignored the presence of Com-

modore Lambert and his fleet. He ordered an English merchant at Rangoon to take down a flag-staff which communicated with the English fleet. The order was obeyed; but a messenger was sent to the Governor to ask when he would receive a deputation from the Commodore regarding it and other matters. The messenger was insolently treated by the doorkeeper. He was admitted, however, after some delay. The Governor then told him that he would be happy to receive a deputation from the Commodore at any time; but he said it in such a tone of derision that the Burmese officers in attendance burst with laughter. Next morning, the Commodore sent a deputation of officers. In the first instance, they were refused admittance. They were then kept waiting until permission could be obtained from the Governor. At last, the members of the deputation pressed for admittance, and were told that the Governor was asleep. Next it was said, that the Governor would see one of the members alone. This was out of the question; and after further vain attempts to obtain an interview, the deputation returned to the Commodore, and reported the insolence to which they had been subjected.

Commodore Lambert saw that he could only bring the Governor to reason by taking action. The British residents at Rangoon were in mortal

fear of being attacked by the Burmese. The Commodore took them all on board his flag ship, and sent them away to Maulmain. He then seized a King's ship lying off Rangoon, and carried her down the river. Several Burmese officers went to the Commodore to make excuses for the Governor, but not one of them could show any credentials. Meantime the Governor began to threaten. Stockades had been erected on the banks of the river. The Commodore was told that if he attempted to pass these stockades his squadron would be fired upon. In reply, he told the Governor that if a pistol-shot was fired, he would level the stockades to the ground. Then followed the first appeal to arms. The Commodore passed the stockades with his squadron. The Burmese opened fire from the shore. The Commodore returned the fire with a storm of shot and shell which destroyed the stockades.

War appeared now inevitable. The Rangoon river, the Bassein river, and the Salween river above Maulmain, were placed under a blockade. Further hostilities were, however, deferred, for Lord Dalhousie was still anxious to avert a war. It would be tedious to relate in detail all the efforts that were made to preserve peace. Lord Dalhousie wrote a letter to the King of Burma. No additional requisition was made beyond a

demand for a written apology from the Governor of Rangoon. His Lordship said that the English were desirous of peace; that if the King came to terms all would be well; if he refused there must be war. The letter was made over to the Burmese officials at Martaban, with the remark that the English were prepared for war. The reply of the Burmese showed their arrogance and determination. They said, that if the English were prepared for war so were the Burmese.

In the beginning of April, Commodore Lambert sent a steamer to Rangoon under a flag of truce, to inquire if a reply had been received from the King. He had taken the precaution weeks before to explain to the Burmese authorities what was meant by a flag of truce. Meantime, fresh stockades had been erected. As the steamer passed by them, the Burmese violated the flag and opened fire. This was another proof that the Burmese authorities were resolved on war.

The details of the military operations which followed would have but little interest now. They are fully related by Colonel Laurie in his exhaustive history of the second Burmese war.* It will suffice to say, that after some more hard fighting, Rangoon

* Colonel Laurie's narrative will be found very pleasant reading by those who may be interested in the progress of events in Burma in 1852–53. I fear he has been too flattering in his notices of my services, but upon this point I can, of course, have nothing to say.

was occupied by the English, and the ramparts of the Great Shwé Dagon Pagoda were taken by storm. By the end of May, both Martaban and Bassein were in the possession of the English. In July, Lord Dalhousie came to Rangoon, and ordered preparations to be made for an advance up the valley of the Irawadi. The expeditionary force was known as the "Army of Ava." In September, the "Army of Ava" left Rangoon. In November, the town of Pegu was taken and occupied. In December, the whole province of Pegu was annexed to the British Empire by public proclamation.*

My spies, amongst other intelligence, had brought me well authorized rumours from the capital, of an impending revolution, and which, I reported to the Government, would probably take place very shortly; and, in the event of its being successful and a change of Sovereigns taking place, would exercise a considerable influence on the war; by causing many of its officers to proceed to the capital to proffer their allegiance to the new King, and the dispersion of the men to their homes.

Events turned out as I had anticipated. The victories of the English had filled the Burmese Court with alarm, and all the blame was thrown

* The Proclamation of the Governor-General of India, annexing the province of Pegu, was published at Rangoon on 20th December, 1852.

upon the King. Early in 1853, it was suddenly known that the Pagán Meng had been deposed, and his half-brother the Meng-don Meng was taken from a Buddhist monastery and placed upon the throne. For years this prince had lived under monastic vows. But this was no strange event in Burmese history. The Meng-don Meng, as has been previously shewn, was not the first monk of the royal family who had been suddenly taken from a life of poverty and celibacy and enthroned in a palace. The result of the catastrophe was that all the Burmese troops disappeared from Pegu. As the "Army of Ava" advanced further into the interior of the country, they found stockades, but no enemy. There had been an universal rush to Ava. Every Burmese officer was eager to reach the capital. One and all hoped to gain some advantage from the new *régime*.

Meantime the newly conquered territory of Pegu was hardening into a British province. There was no *open* resistance on the part of the new King to our possession of the province; but he would enter into no formal treaty of peace. He utterly refused to sign any such document; he would not acknowledge any cession of Burmese territory to the English. His reasons for declining were, that he did not wish to go down to posterity as the King who had signed away a portion of the Empire of Alompra.

When the Governor-General found that the King was impracticable, he declared that he did not want a treaty; that a treaty with such a potentate would not be worth the paper on which it was written.* The result was, he issued his own proclamation of peace, by a Notification dated Fort William, 30th June, 1853, and fixed on his own authority a parallel of latitude† to be the line of frontier between British and Burmese territories. The frontier pillars were put up, and which, with the exception of a slight rectification that has lately been made by mutual consent in the hill country of the Karens, mark the boundary to the present day. The province of Pegu was brought under British administration. My old friend and senior officer, the present Sir Arthur Phayre, was the first Commissioner of the newly acquired territory.

Under these circumstances I was appointed Deputy Commissioner of Bassein,‡ a large and im-

* I was previously in possession of Lord Dalhousie's views upon this subject. I had been ordered, specially, from Sandoway to Calcutta to communicate personally with his lordship regarding information I had furnished: this, with other matters, was discussed.

† A line running due east, from the Myeng-Mateng-toung (a high peak of the Arakan range of mountains) situated in 19° 30′ N. Lat. See accompanying map.

‡ Bassein is an old Talaing city. Its Talaing name was Kau-smin, corrupted by the Burmese to Po-thein, and by us to Bassein. At the time it was visited by Ralph Fitch in the latter end of 1586, it appears to have been then known by its ancient name, as he spells it in English, Cosmin. Kau-smin corresponds, I believe, to Kon-dau in the Burmese language, meaning royal high ground. The city stands on an elevated site.

The portion of the country of which Bassein is the capital city, formed in

portant district in the newly conquered province, which formed the western half of the delta of the Irawadi. The post was one of peculiar difficulty, on account of its pirate-haunted creeks, and bands of banditti, or dacoits, which had been greatly swollen during the anarchy that prevailed throughout the war. This will be readily understood after a brief description of the condition of the country.

The district of Bassein, and, indeed, the whole province of Pegu, was divided under Burmese rule into a number of townships. The head of every township paid a fixed sum every year towards the imperial revenue. The money was either sent direct to the imperial treasury, or paid over to some official, or inmate of the palace or zenana, to whom it might have been assigned. In those days the Burmese Government paid no fixed salaries. Ministers, queens, concubines, favourites and others were supported by the grant of a township, or of some village or circle within a township, and known by the name of Myo-tsa, or "eaters of the revenue."

The position of the head of a township was thus

ancient times one of the three great divisions or provinces of the kingdom of Ramagnia, and included within its boundaries the territory lying between the Irawadi river and the Arakan mountains. The other two provinces of Ramagnia were Hengtha-wadi, and Motaba (Martaban): the former comprising the country between the Irawadi and Sittang rivers; and the latter that between the Sittang and Salween rivers. The limits of these two latter provinces to the southward are not defined by old historians, and no doubt varied much on account of the continual wars which raged in those parts.

C. Kegan, Paul & Co. London.

BASSEIN.

in direct antagonism to the interests of the people. As already said, he was responsible for the fixed yearly revenue; but as he received no salary, he was compelled to squeeze as much as he could out of the people, for the support of himself and his followers. Nominally, he was under the Viceroy of Hengtha-wadi (the old Talaing kingdom of Pegu so called) who held his head-quarters at Rangoon, and was generally known as the governor of Rangoon. Practically he was independent of the governor, who indeed exercised little real authority beyond the limits of the town and the country immediately around it. Of course all were subject to the supreme authority of the imperial government at Ava; and any governor whatever, whether of a province or a township, might be appointed or removed at the pleasure of the King. But occasional presents to a queen, minister, or favourite, generally sufficed to smooth down any difficulty that might arise.

In some respects the heads of townships resembled the barons of Europe during the Middle Ages. They possessed individually the power of the sword, and were supreme in their petty territories. They were constantly at feud with their neighbours, who held the like position. They were thus led to keep up large bodies of followers, who were the curse of the country. Though each ruler

could rely with confidence on his own train of retainers, he was not bound, however, to the people by any feudal ties. His office was not hereditary.

Very many of them were foreigners from Upper Burma, who had been made heads of townships by the mere will of the King, and had no hold whatever upon the inhabitants. They established themselves as lords of townships by the prestige of the royal name, and the terror inspired by their armed followers. A few, however, had been taken from the Talaing inhabitants of Pegu, and all this class of men were disaffected rather than loyally disposed towards the King of Burma. In a word, they detested the Ava rule. They were favourably inclined towards the English, and some of them helped the English during the hostilities against the King of Burma's forces, and for such service received appointments at the close of the war.

After the English had taken possession of Pegu, most of the heads of townships lost all their authority. Some who had joined the royal forces accompanied them in the retreat into Upper Burma. The greater number, however, took to the jungles, and led the lives of outlaws. They formed themselves into marauding bands, and ravaged the country far and wide. Down to the present day offshoots of these bands occasionally break out and create disorders. They are the so-called Burmese dacoits,

and it will probably be some time before they entirely disappear.*

The condition of Bassein of course resembled that of Pegu. I find a paragraph in one of my dispatches at the period, which sets forth the actual state of affairs in my district.† "During the Burmese government this district was distributed into eleven divisions, under officers with different Burmese titles. Each of these officers had under him from three to six hundred armed retainers. A portion of these retainers have gone into the Ava territories; a few have turned cultivators of the soil and fishermen; the remainder, by far the greater portion, are at large without any means of honest livelihood, and it is they who form the bands of 'dacoits,' and keep the country in a disturbed state."

The following extract from one of my dispatches shows the nature of the dacoities which were carried on under Burmese rule.‡ "Dacoity appears to be

* Shortly after I left Burma in 1871, notwithstanding a considerable increase to the police force, the dacoits seem to have become bolder than at any former period. Colonel Hamilton, the Director-General of the Police in British Burma, was shot dead by them, as also an Assistant-Commissioner, and one of the District-Superintendents severely wounded. The wholesome dread of the British authorities appeared to have diminished. I fear this may be attributed, somewhat, to the so-called energetic measures of my successor, who was new to the country, and had no personal experience of the class with whom he was dealing.

† Dispatch dated 18th February, 1854.

‡ Dispatch, dated 5th August, 1853.

normal in the country; almost evey inhabitant is ready to perpetrate one, if the plunder to be obtained is worth his while, and it can be committed with small risk. The punishment for the offence during the Burmese rule was generally death with torture, confiscation of goods, and the sale of the criminals' wives and families into slavery. But this punishment, as also any other, could be evaded, if the person apprehended could pay a handsome bribe to the Burmese officials or had powerful friends. When it is discovered that there is no outlet or escape of this kind, punishment invariably succeeding detection, and that dacoits are not fostered, as was also often the case with Burmese officials for a share of their plunder, I have no doubt this species of crime will greatly decrease."

I reached Bassein in the latter end of December, 1852. The morning after my arrival I summoned the inhabitants, and read the proclamation annexing the whole of Pegu. Reports of the exploits of dacoits came to me from all quarters. The means, however, at my disposal, were of the most limited description. There was an English garrison at Bassein surrounded by a stockade. The country round about was still harassed by parties of the King's troops, as well as by bands of dacoits; and owing to a repulse, a detachment of the garrison that had been sent out against these, had lately suf-

fered, strict orders had been issued by the military authorities, that not a single soldier was to leave the stockade on any pretence whatever. Fortunately I had brought some trustworthy men with me from Sandoway: and in addition to these I secured the valuable services of the crews of two of H.M.'s steamers, the *Nemesis* and *Zenobia*, which were stationed in the Burmese river. I also enlisted a number of the better disposed natives of Pegu, who had already declared themselves on our side.*

With this force I left the town of Bassein on the *Nemesis*, the third day after I had landed at the place, in the hope of cutting up and dispersing the more formidable bands of marauders. The creeks were so shallow and narrow, that we generally found it necessary to take to the boats before we could get sight of the enemy. It was active service of a unique description; just the kind of fun that sailors like. Sometimes our boats were suddenly exposed to the fire of a band of desperadoes. At other times we followed them up to their secret haunts, where they resisted us with all the recklessness of men fighting for their lives.

We had many hard conflicts hand to hand. On some occasions we made large captures of arms,

* The official account of this expedition, and others following it, will be found in Appendix B.

stores and war boats, by which we not only crippled the robbers, but added to our own resources.

The story of our first expedition will serve as a specimen of the kind of service it was. A Burmese chief of banditti, who was known by the uncouth name of Nga-tee-hwot, had plundered and burnt several large villages. As we passed down the Bassein river, we heard that a large detachment of Nga-tee-hwot's men had gone by to plunder a village which was seated on an island. We reached the place in time to save the village, but the enemy escaped through a narrow creek. Next morning at daybreak we left the steamer with two paddle-box boats and a cutter. Each boat was mounted with a twelve-pounder howitzer, and manned by English sailors. A considerable force of Karens and Talaings also accompanied us in their own boats. About noon we fell in with the dacoits. They fired upon our boats, but were dispersed after a few discharges of grape, leaving a quantity of arms behind. Next morning we came upon an outpost strengthened by breastworks. A sharp fire of musketry was opened upon us, but we pushed forward in our boats, and again dispersed them after a sharp jungle skirmish. At this spot we captured three war boats, and the standard of the chief of the marauders.

We next proceeded to three large villages; one

of them strengthened by breastworks like the outpost. The marauders, however, had fled before we came up. I wished our native auxiliaries to follow them up, as they might easily have done in their small boats; but they would not proceed alone, and the English sailors were too fatigued to proceed further. It turned out that these three villages were the head-quarters of the dacoits. In their hurry to get away they had left their huts standing with an accumulation of arms, stores and plunder.

The desolation caused by these ruffians is beyond all conception. The peaceful inhabitants of all the villages round about had deserted their homes and fled to the jungle to subsist as they best might on roots and wild animals, or die of disease or starvation. My object was to encourage all these poor people to return to their respective villages. Accordingly I appointed head men to the several villages, each of whom had one or two hundred followers. They engaged to bring back the villagers from the jungles; and they spoke confidently of success, now that the marauders had been beaten and dispersed.

Notwithstanding this success, and some others of a like character, bands of dacoits soon reappeared in distant quarters. The Burmese governor of Bassein, Meng-gyee Moung-ngo, who, at the com-

mencement of hostilities had been sent by the King to Bassein with 20,000 men, was still at large; and it was evident that the district would never be settled until he had been driven out of the country, or destroyed. This done the other Burmese chiefs, who acted, or pretended to act under his orders, and apparently considered that they had a perfect right to plunder the country, would be more easily dealt with.

By this time I had got together a considerable increase of force, and determined to attack him. Before the Meng-gyee could be reached, however, we had to attack two of his principal chiefs, Nga-thein, and Moung-tha-bon, who had taken up strong positions between him and Bassein. The first position was situated on the bank of a creek, strongly entrenched, and the stream staked across with rows of stakes. We carried these works with the bayonet, under the fire of the boat's guns.

On the following morning we marched inland against the other chief, and after marching eleven miles, came upon the enemy, drawn up in the jungle, and across the road to oppose our passage. Our advanced guard, consisting of about 600 Karens, were at first driven back, but were soon rallied, and the flanking parties being reinforced, the enemy were driven through the jungle into an open plain, where they attempted to make a stand under their

chief, Moung-tha-bon,* who boldly advanced to the front of his men, cheering them on; a fortunate shot from my rifle, however, disabled him, when the whole of his force broke and fled. The other chief, Nga-thein, defeated the day before, and who had fallen back on this force, escaped with great difficulty, throwing off his gilt hat and gold-embroidered robes of office in his flight.

After a few days' halt, we proceeded against the force under the Meng-gyee, encamped some miles up the Bassein river, in the vicinity of the town of Lemena. Arriving at this place, we found that he had broken up his encampment, and was marching towards the Burmese frontier, but would halt that night only a few miles from us. The force I had with me consisted of 1,500 natives of the country, together with eighty "blue jackets," and four guns. I determined to halt where we then were, and to make a night march round his right flank with the whole of my force, and get in his front by daylight, if possible. Everything succeeded as I wished. We arrived in front of his encampment about half an hour before daylight, and drew up our forces across the road he had to march, masking the guns in some low jungle.

A little after daylight, the enemy's camp began to

* Moung-tha-bon, who had been the Myo-thoo-gyee of the important township of Pantanaw, diéd the day after the receipt of this wound.

break up, and their advanced guard, consisting of 800 Ava soldiers, marched down upon us, followed close by the main body, composed of about 2,500 fighting men under the Meng-gyee in person. On perceiving us they advanced boldly, opening a smart fire. When within 150 yards, our guns opened upon them with grape, which tore through their masses, throwing them into complete disorder, and they broke and fled in all directions. Forty-eight bodies were found in front of our guns, and a great number were killed in the pursuit. Two of the Meng-gyee's sons were captured, and Meng-gyee Moung-ngo himself, being severely wounded, took refuge in a neighbouring village, where he died two days afterwards. We captured on this occasion nine guns, upwards of 3,000 stand of arms, and a quantity of ammunition and other stores.

I shortly afterwards co-operated with the force under Sir John Cheape against the powerful bandit chief, Myat-htoon, and was present at the taking of his stronghold of Kywn-ka-dzeng. The position was a very strong one, and offered a long and stubborn resistance. The loss in killed and wounded, during the several attacks that were made upon it, were greater even than those experienced during the three days' attack and storming of Rangoon. In the last, and successful attack, the storming parties

formed from the 18th Royal Irish, and 80th Foot, were led, the former by Lieutenant Taylor, and the latter by Ensign Garnet Wolseley.* Both were severely wounded. Lieutenant Taylor died of his wounds, but Ensign Garnet Wolseley lived to distinguish himself still further, and become an honour and an ornament to the British army.

In 1854 the dacoits were beginning to be overawed, although many bands were still at large. At this juncture a rebellion broke out in Bassein, which for a while assumed a formidable character. Two mysterious persons suddenly appeared, accompanied by a Buddhist priest. They displayed "royal warrants" to the people, appointing one of them to be Governor of Pegu, and the other to be Commander-in-Chief.

The storm must have been brewing some months before anything was heard of it. At last I obtained full information regarding it from one of my retainers, who had pretended to join it. But by this time the rebels were in considerable force. Fortunately, I was enabled to take the field then with a little army of British soldiers and sepoys, and a large levy of Burmese. By rapid marches we came up with the rebels before they had time to erect stockades, and killed or captured most of the ringleaders. The dangerous character of this rebel-

* The present Sir Garnet J. Wolseley, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.

lion induced the Governor of India to invest me with extraordinary powers; and I was thus enabled to organize a military police upon a novel basis, which proved of vast utility in reducing the disturbed district to order and tranquillity.

The idea struck me of absorbing a portion of the bands of dacoits, and inducing them to act against the others, by forming them into a military police corps. The one peculiar feature of their organization was that I refrained from enlisting the peacefully disposed inhabitants. I admitted no man into the corps unless it was shown that he had been a bad and dangerous character. In dealing with such scoundrels the strictest discipline was of course necessary. Fortunately, I had been invested with great and responsible powers, extending to death, within the limits of my district; as otherwise it would have been utterly impossible to have formed a corps out of such materials.

At the outset I experienced the most serious difficulties. They were brave enough in all conscience. They required no European officers to lead them into action. But for a long time I could never trust them unless I commanded them in person, or placed them under an European subordinate. Nothing would repress their predatory instincts. It was only after making some severe examples, that they could be prevented from plundering the

inoffensive inhabitants of the country, whenever they had an opportunity of doing so.*

But whilst I found difficulties in dealing with my military police, I had still greater trouble in checking Burmese civil officials. It has been explained that some of these men in Bassein had been taken from the original inhabitants of the country, and were well disposed towards the English. A few had been allowed to retain their posts under British administration. But Burmese ideas of oppression and plunder are so radically opposed to those of Europeans, that it was many years before they could be trusted with anything like independent authority.

* The character and formation of this corps may be further gathered from the following extract from a dispatch which I penned about this time. "I commenced raising the corps in June last. The service is popular. A large number of candidates appeared for enlistment, and the corps could have been completed that month, but I rejected, from policy, men with settled employment, being anxious to absorb those that had been in employ, or were professional dacoits and robbers under the Burmese rule, the majority of whom would never settle down, at any rate, for some considerable period, to any honest means of livelihood, but still continue the practice of extortion and robbery for subsistence. About three-fourths of the men now enlisted are of this stamp, and the commissioned and non-commissioned officers already appointed, men of influence, who brought in large bands of their followers with them for enlistment. One of these, for instance, was one of the most active chiefs under Myat-htoon, and he has brought in with him some eighty picked men, who were with Myat-htoon up to the final defeat and dispersion of his force at Kywn-ka-dzeng. This absorption will be a very great relief to the country, and these 'Ishmaelites of Society' will gradually fall under control, and be turned to a good account, if properly handled at the commencement. But their management for some time to come will be a source of anxiety, and demand the whole of my leisure time in drilling and disciplining them. Such material requires a peculiar course of discipline, and I would, with due deference, recommend that I be appointed their commandant, and they be taught to look to me alone for their rewards and punishment."

There was one man especially with whom I was utterly disappointed. He possessed considerable influence, and had rendered me great help in the settlement of the district. I had seen a great deal of him, and I certainly entertained the hope that he knew enough of our procedure to be trusted to follow it. Accordingly, I raised him to the rank of Myo-ok, and placed him in charge of a township. How he fulfilled the duties of his position may be gathered from the following story :—

One moonlight night, whilst smoking an after-dinner cigar in my garden at Bassein, a human shadow suddenly crossed me, and a Burmese woman fell at my feet. She then made the following statement. About a year previously she was proceeding with her husband in a couple of boats up the river. At night they had anchored off the very village where my *protégé* the Myo-ok was residing. In the middle of the night, when they were all asleep, the Myo-ok came down with a party of armed followers, seized all on board, bound them with ropes, and carried them off to his house. All the men, nine in number, were put to death, including the woman's husband. She herself escaped, because an adopted son of the Myo-ok, who had formerly been her lover, recognised her face and wanted to make her his wife. They were married in Burmese fashion, without much ceremony, but both were

bound to secrecy by the most solemn oaths. For one whole year she had been kept at the village. She had then been allowed to accompany her husband to Bassein on the present excursion, and whilst he had gone into the town to see some friends, she had hastened to tell me of the crime. She said that she could not sleep at nights. The ghost of her first husband was constantly appearing, and urging her to tell me the story of the murder.

I at once despatched a party of police to arrest the Myo-ok and all his followers. The result confirmed the truth of the woman's story. Part of the property of the murdered man was found in the possession of the Myo-ok; and the murderers, seeing that all was discovered, sought to obtain mercy by confessing their crime. Eleven were put on their trial; five were sentenced to death, and six to transportation for life. Strange to say, one of the sons of the Myo-ok was an officer in my military police corps, and by an oversight, had been told off to command the detachment that was present at the execution of his father. I was exceedingly annoyed at the discovery, but was assured that the man had shown no emotion whatever. He had looked on the execution of his father with the same apathy as he would have looked on a scene in a native play. Burmese-like, he regarded the execu-

tion of his father as a decree of fate in which he had no part or concern.

I will now relate a few anecdotes of elephant shooting, coupled with a brief description of the animal. The Bassein district is famous for its big game, especially for its superior breed of elephants,*

* The etymology of the word "elephant" has long been a vexed question. Sir Emerson Tennent (to whom I am indebted for many of my remarks regarding the elephant), in his valuable "History of Ceylon," quoting from M. Ad. Pictet, and other authorities, says: "The word 'elephant'—a term which, whilst it has passed into almost every dialect of the West, is scarcely to be traced in any language of Asia. The Greek ἐλέφας, to which we are immediately indebted for it, did not originally mean the animal, but, as early as the time of Homer, was applied only to its tusks, and signified *ivory*. Bochart has sought for it a Semitic origin, and seizing on the Arabic *fil*, and prefixing the article *al*, suggests *alfil*, akin to ἐλεφ; but rejecting this, Bochart himself resorts to the Hebrew *eleph*, an "ox"—and this conjecture derives a certain degree of countenance from the fact that the Romans, when they obtained their first sight of the elephant in the army of Pyrrhus, in Lucania, called it the *Luca bos*. But the αντος is still unaccounted for; and Pott has sought to remove the difficulty by introducing the Arabic *hindi*, Indian, thus making *eleph-hindi*, "*bos Indicus*." The conversion of *hindi* into αντος is an obstacle, but here the example of "tamarind" comes to aid; *tamar hindi*, the "Indian date," which in mediæval Greek forms ταμάρεντι. A theory of Benary, that ἐλέφας might be compounded of the Arabic *al* and *ibha*, a Sanskrit name for the elephant, is exposed to still greater etymological exception. Pictet's solution is, that in the Sanskrit epics "the King of Elephants," who has the distinction of carrying the god Indra, is called *airavata* or *airavana*, a modification of *airavanta*, "son of the ocean," which again comes from *iravat*, "abounding in water." Nous aurions donc ainsi, comme corrélatif du grec ἐλεφαντο, une ancienne forme. *Âirâvanta* ou âilavânta, affaiblie plus tard en âirâvata ou âirâvana . . . . On connaît la prédilection de l'éléphant pour le voisinage des fleuves, et son amour pour l'eau, dont l'abondance est nécessaire à son bien-être. This Sanskrit name, Pictet supposes, may have been carried to the West by the Phœnicians, who were the purveyors of ivory from India; and from the Greek, the Latins derived *elephas*, which passed into the modern languages of Italy, Germany, and France. But it is curious that the Spaniards acquired from the Moors their Arabic name for ivory, *marfil*, and the Portuguese *marfin*; and that the Scandinavians, probably from their early expeditions to the Mediterranean, adopted *fill* as their name for the elephant itself, and *fil-bein* for ivory; in Danish, *fils-ben*. The Spaniards of South

which are said, in common with those of other parts of Burma, to be larger and stronger than in any other portion of Asia. In the vast primæval forests of Burma, and indeed in all the uninhabited parts of the country, where shade and water abound, they are very numerous. I have often been in the midst of large herds. A fine male "tusker" is always fair game, and I have shot several very large ones; but it has always been my rule to abstain from shooting females, as their tusks* are very small, and their carcase is worthless. On one occasion, however, an old female charged me so persistently that I was forced to shoot her. The cause of her ferocity was, no doubt, her having a young one by her side at the time, and which I brought home with me alive. It was fed with cow's milk, and strange to say, with women's milk also.

The elephant is always held in great veneration by Buddhists. The last incarnation of Gautama, before he became Buddha, was that of a white elephant; and whilst he was alone in the desert, an elephant also is said to have ministered to all his wants. Women of all races are generally more superstitious than men, and those of Burma regard young elephants with peculiar tenderness.

America call the palm which produces the vegetable ivory (*Phytelephas macrocarpa*) *Palma de marfil*, and the nut itself *marfil vegetal*."

* The females have only small straight tusks, rarely weighing more than nine pounds.

Accordingly women used to come to my infant elephant and permit it to suck* their breasts. They regarded this as an act of piety, or rather as a "Koung-hmo," or work of merit, for which they would be rewarded in another state of existence.

There are many curious and interesting matters connected with the elephant,

> "The huge earth-shaking beast,
> The beast who hath between his eyes
> The serpent for a hand—"

which have attracted observers in ancient as well as in modern times. The period of gestation is about twenty-two months. As a rule they do not breed in captivity, but I have known exceptions. For instance female decoy elephants are sometimes let loose in the jungle for the purpose of enticing male elephants into the toils of the huntsman. On such occasions they have sometimes fallen victims to circumstances, and a female has brought forth an infant elephant about the end of the period mentioned. The brain of the elephant is remarkably small in comparison with the bulk of the body. In man the brain † is about $\frac{1}{30}$ to $\frac{1}{35}$ of the size of the body; in the elephant the brain is about $\frac{1}{500}$.

* The young elephant sucks with its mouth, and not with its trunk.

† The nature or sagacity of neither man nor animal can, however, be determined by the size of the brain. In the relative weight of the brain and body, man does not take the highest place, for although the weight of the brain of the whale is only $\frac{1}{3500}$, that of the elephant, $\frac{1}{600}$, of the dog, $\frac{1}{250}$, man is sur-

They have no canine teeth. These are represented by two incisors—the well-known tusks—which are not shed, as is often supposed, except as milk teeth, when the animal is about a year old. The second growth is permanent, and the capsule being free, they continue to grow throughout the animal's life. More than one molar and occasionally, perhaps, a portion of another, ever appear on each side of each jaw of an elephant at the same time. They are not deciduous, but each one as it is worn away by mastication, is pushed forward by its posterior one which takes its place. This singular system of decay and production occurs six times during the life of the animal.

From the movement of these teeth, and the number of transverse plates (denticuli) of which it is composed, it is now confidently asserted that the normal age of the elephant can be ascertained, and which is fixed at about one hundred and twenty years. Cuvier allots two hundred years as its age; older writers two to three hundred; and Fleurens,* again, according to his ingenious theory of assuming the life of all animals to be five times the period taken to perfect their full development, and sup-

passed by the song-birds, among which the weight of the brain reaches $\frac{1}{27}$; by the titmouse and the sparrow, in which it reaches respectively $\frac{1}{13}$ and $\frac{1}{27}$, and by the American apes, in which it amounts to from $\frac{1}{18}$ to $\frac{1}{13}$ of the weight of the body."—Th. Bischoff, Naturwissenschaftlichen Vorträgen Münchener Gelehrten, p. 139, Munich, 1858.

* Fleurens.—De la Longévité Humaine.

posing the elephant to attain its full growth at thirty years, determines its full age to be one hundred and fifty years.* The growth of animals, he believes, to cease as soon as the final consolidation of the bones takes place with their epiphyses.†

Elephants are occasionally troubled by tooth-ache. When at Maulmain, I saw an elephant, a fine tusker, in the timber yard of Messrs. Currie & Co., which had just wrenched out one of its tusks in its agony from tooth-ache. Mr. Currie assured me that the elephant had been most uneasy for some time past, and would not allow this tusk to be touched. On examining the broken tusk, the internal perforation of a parasite was distinctly visible, and on the animal's death, which occurred a few days afterwards, a large ulcer was discovered at its root.

It is most curious to observe the wonderful sagacity of the elephants at work in these yards, and their aptitude in comprehending what is required

* The ancients had a very vague idea of the age of animals. Hesiod gravely tells us that the elephant lives a thousand years, the crow ten times as long as a man, the stag four times as long as the crow, the raven three times as long as the stag, and the phœnix nine times as long as the raven. As for the phœnix, it was supposed to have fifty orifices in its bill, which are continued to its tail, and that after living one thousand years, it builds itself a funeral pile, sings a melodious air of different harmonies through its fifty organ pipes, flaps its wings with a velocity which sets fire to the wood, and consumes itself."—"Bibliotheca Græca," vol. i., Göttling.—Richardson.

† "Epiphyses are appendices of the long bones, for the purpose of articulation, formed from a distinct centre of ossification, and in the young subject connected with the larger bones by an intervening cartilage, which in the adult is obliterated."—Parr.

of them. They drag the timber to the appointed place, and with their head, tusks, trunk, and feet, stack it in any form desired. Old ones, accustomed to the work, are most particular about the timber being correctly laid, and push the logs with their head until it fits exactly in its place. An officer, in an official report, I remember, in describing their sagacity, stated his belief that they actually squinted along the logs to see, in military parlance, if they were "properly dressed!"

It was long a popular delusion that the elephant had no joints, and being unable to lie down slept against a tree. Sir Thomas Browne in his "Pseudodoxia Epidemica," speaking of this fallacy, says that it "is not the daughter of latter times, but an old and grey-headed errour, even in the days of Aristotle."* "So great was the authority of Aristotle, that Ælian, who wrote two centuries later, and borrowed many of his statements from the works of his predecessor, perpetuates this error; and, after describing the exploits of the trained elephants† exhibited at Rome, adds the expression of

* "Natural History of Ceylon," by Sir Emerson Tennant.

† The elephants spoken of here, as being exhibited in the Roman arena, must have been of the African species (*E. Africanus*), which are never now tamed or trained in their native country. There can be no doubt, however, that the Carthaginians availed themselves of the services of this species, in the same manner as the natives of India have from time immemorial done those of the Asiatic species; but they must have been trained by them, or by Arabs, never by negroes. Sir Samuel Baker notes as a curious fact that a negro has never been known to tame an elephant, or any wild animal; that, though he

his surprise, that an animal without joints (*αναρθρον*) should yet be able to dance."

So late as the commencement of the seventeenth century, Shakspeare puts in the mouth of Ulysses, in his play of Troilus and Cressida,

> "The elephant hath joints; but none for courtesy;
> His legs are for necessity, not flexure."

And, as stated by Professor Flower, in a late lecture on the elephant delivered at the Zoological Gardens, "people even in the present day believe that this animal's joints move in the contrary way from those of other quadrupeds. The explanation of this being in the fact, that the elbow and knee of the elephant are much nearer the ground than those of a horse or cow, and are thus confused by a casual observer, with the so-called knee (the true wrist) and hock (the true ankle) of the latter animals." The great

had often offered rewards for a young elephant, he never succeeded in getting one alive; and that a person may travel all over Africa and never see a wild animal trained and petted.

The African animal differs from the Asiatic one in having a shorter and more rounded head with the front convex instead of concave. Its ears are much larger, the colour of the skin darker, and the number of nails on the hind feet are three instead of four. The species also differ in the curvature of the spine, which is concave in the former and convex in the latter, and in the character of their teeth. Both species attain about the same height and weight. The large elephant in the Zoological Gardens is a fine specimen of the African species. It is, I believe, about ten feet high.

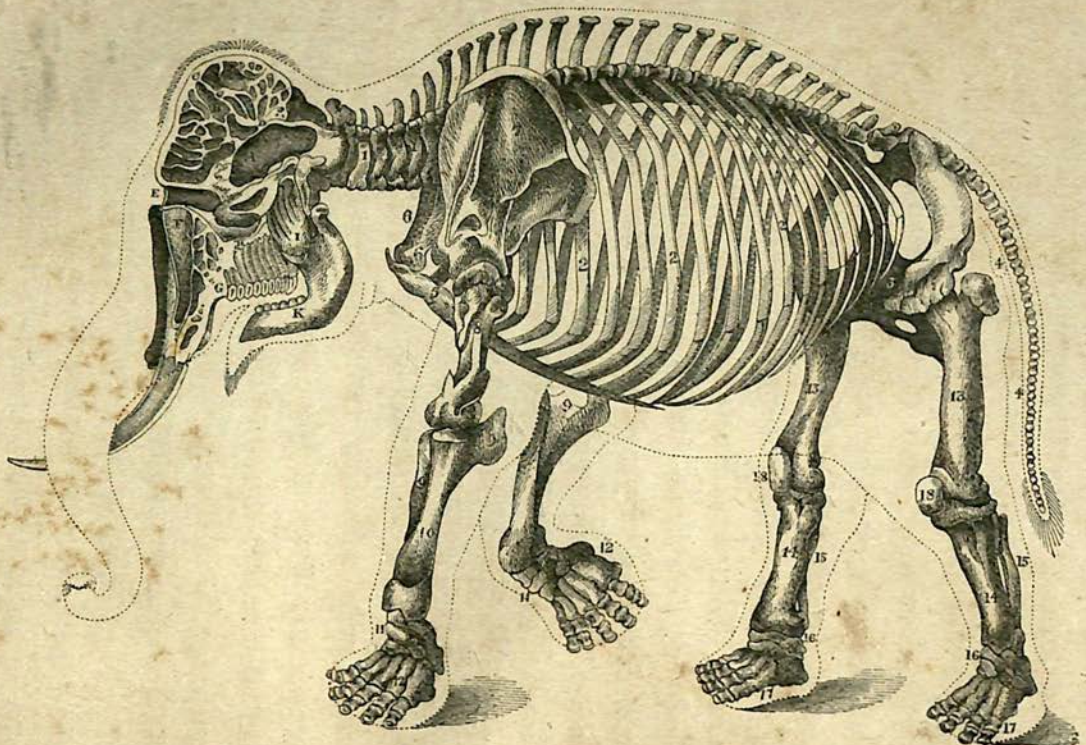
Almost all the elephants to be seen now in menageries and shows in England are African elephants, which was not the case some years ago; the Indian species being formerly chiefly imported. Persons who have had charge of both species, say that the African animal is more cunning, but not so docile as the Indian.

peculiarity in an elephant's lying down is, that he thrusts his hind legs behind him, like a horse when he kneels, and then rolls over on his side, and does not throw them under his body in the same manner as a horse or other quadruped.

The drawings* seen of elephants, as a general rule, are made without adequate knowledge of the osseous framework and its muscular clothing, are very false, and but a sorry resemblance of this fine animal. The prevailing absurdity appears to be in giving the elephant hocks! The perpetrators of such drawings appear to have adopted the idea (and selected their model accordingly) of the elderly Scotch lady in "The Last of the Lairds," who exclaims while admiring a painting of a tiger hunt —"Ech! Sirs! wha'd ha'e thought it?—that y'r *ee*lephant, after a', shauld be naithing mair than a muckle pig wi' a langer snoot;"—a deprecatory comparison truly, of the animal on which Milton has deservedly bestowed the epithet of "half-reasoning."

The posterior extremities of the elephant (due allowance being made for great difference in length and size) seem to approach more nearly to the inferior ones of the human skeleton than those of any other quadruped. The vertical position of the sacrum adds to this similitude, while the lateral

* See Osteology of the Elephant, "India Sporting Review," No. 2 of 1844.



SKELETON OF ELEPHANT.

power bestowed by the articulation of the thigh and knee joints, is visible externally—as a favourite position of the animal, while tethered and at rest is supporting the weight of his hinder quarters on one leg, while the other is thrown in a stand-at-ease manner across it, one foot resting carelessly on the other."

The outline, drawn by a well-known sportsman and naturalist, of the skeleton of the elephant figured on the opposite page, together with the accompanying description, is taken from the "India Sporting Review," No. 2, 1844, and well illustrates the internal structure of the elephant, so unlike that of all other quadrupeds. The head in this drawing, excepting the lower jaw, is drawn in section, showing the situation of the brain and its defences; also the process of dentition, in which one, the foremost, grinder is seen to be superannuated, and gradually disappearing; the next, the centre one, in present use, and the third descending to take the place of the last in due course.

A. Cavity of the brain. B. Space occupied by bony cells, between C, the outer, and D, the inner tablets of the skull. E. Opening of the nostrils. F. Alveolus of the tusk. G. Old molar in a state of diminution and decay. H. Perfect molar. I. Embryo molar, progressing forwards and downwards. K. Inferior maxillary. 1. Cervical vertebræ, 7 in number. 2. The ribs—19 on each flank. 3. Bones of the pelvis. 4. The caudal vertebræ, 24 in number. 5. The sternum. 6. The first pair of ribs. 7. The scapula. 8. The humerus. 9. The ulna. 10. The radius. 11. The carpus, comprising 7 bones. 12. The metacarpus, and anterior digital phalanges, 5 in each foot. 13. The femur. 14. The tibia. 15. The fibula. 16. The tarsus. 17. The metatarsus and posterior digital phalanges, 4 in each foot. 18. The patella.

The largest elephant I ever shot was in the Bassein district. The giant in question led a solitary life, apart from any herd. Solitary elephants, I may preface, are invariably males, who it is supposed were originally driven from their herd by stronger competitors for female society; or from being naturally troublesome and vicious; and become morose, and savage from solitude. It is a curious circumstance that when once a male elephant is thus ostracised, it never rejoins its own herd or family, and no other strange herd will receive it. The lord of a herd, however, does not object to receive a strange female into his seraglio. If a young male is driven out of his herd for precociousness or other failings, he either fights the leader of another herd or becomes a "rogue" or outcast. The largest tusker is generally leader of the herd; but it not unfrequently happens that a large, strong minded, and cunning female becomes so. The devotion of the herd to their leaders is very remarkable, and their leaders are implicitly followed and obeyed.

But to return to my elephant; this animal had killed a great many people in his time. It was said that his memory, as a vicious elephant, that had lived alone, had been preserved from father to son, for a period of more than two hundred years. During a great part of that time he had

been a terror to the people far and wide. Native huntsmen came from different parts of the country, and assailed the huge beast from time to time, but their bullets appeared to have no effect upon him. Accordingly, the story was spread abroad that the elephant was under the protection of the nats* or wood sprites. These nats have been likened to fairies; but religious ideas are associated with nats, which are wanting in fairies. In reality, the nats were the gods of the Burmese before its mythology was broken up by Buddhism; and under that name their memory and worship are still lingering in the land.

The last shikarry† who attacked it, had loaded his gun with a very heavy charge of English gunpowder, and a magic silver bullet, which had been cast by a tshā-thă-má, or "medicine man,"—half necromancer and half doctor—under peculiar incantations, imagined to possess occult power sufficient to break the spell. The gun burst in the discharge, and it has, ever since, been a moot point, whether the magic power possessed by the bullet, or the influence of the nats, had caused it —the overcharge of powder never having been taken into consideration at all.

The reputation of such an elephant was sufficient

* An account of the folk-lore connected with nats will be given hereafter.

† Native huntsman.

to excite the ambition of any sportsman; and I determined to obtain for myself the glory of subduing an elephant of such renown. No such guns as mine had ever before been seen in Bassein. Especially I had a heavy single six-ounced rifle,* which carried a charge of nine drachms of powder; and with this weapon I determined to have a bout with the monarch of the jungle.

I had the elephant tracked very soon after my arrival in Bassein. He had taken up his quarters in a dense forest of timber. When I first caught sight of him, he was rubbing himself against the bole of a gigantic tree, and fanning himself with some branches which he held in his trunk. I crept up within fifteen paces, and fired at his head. He fell on his knees; I thought he was dead. I had struck him, but my ball had missed the brain, and he was only stunned. The huge beast almost immediately picked himself up, and came straight at me. Fortunately I had, in the meanwhile, got a second rifle in my hands; a double rifle carrying three-ounce balls. I could not get a fair opportunity of again firing at him with any

* This gun, especially after it had been fired a few times, used to kick frightfully, and I have frequently felt greater apprehension of its recoil, than of the animal which might be charging me. Coming home in a boat from shooting on one occasion, a friend asked me to let him fire it off at an empty bottle, which had been dropped over the stern; and he, taking a snap shot at the bottle without holding the gun tightly to his shoulder, it knocked him head-over-heels into the boat. He declared he would never touch any one of my guns again! Vulcanite pads to lessen the recoil of guns had then not been invented.

C. Kegan Paul & Co London.

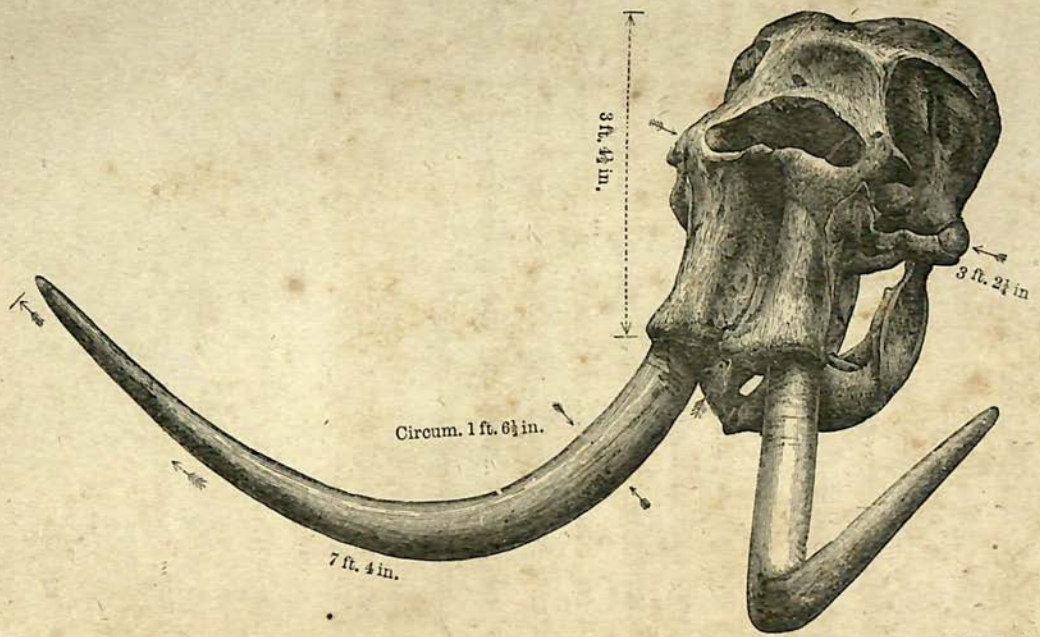
THE ELEPHANT'S CHARGE.

certainty, and for some time I dodged the animal from tree to tree. The jungle was composed of large forest trees, and tolerably free from brushwood. Had not the latter been the case, there would have been some difficulty in avoiding him; as the underwood, while obstructing my movements, would have offered no obstacle to him. At last I got tired. I saw that the question between us must be decided very soon. Accordingly I paused at the foot of a large tree, and awaited the charge. When the elephant was within twelve paces, I fired both barrels at the small shield-shaped depression in the skull at the root of the trunk. He fell, or rather sank down dead at my feet; both balls had entered the brain.

This elephant was a monster in size. His measurement was as follows:—

	Feet.	Inches.
From bottom of fore foot to top of shoulder, perpendicular height	11	2
Height of head	12	5
From the crown of head along the spine to root of tail	11	5
From bottom of foot to centre of backbone between the shoulders	12	3
Circumference of fore foot *	5	6¼
Greatest girth	15	4
Length of tusks	7	4

* I have measured the fore feet of several elephants, both alive and dead, and have invariably found that twice the circumference of the fore foot is very close upon their perpendicular height. This measurement is a little under the mark, owing, no doubt, to the animal being in a recumbent position. Had it been alive, and standing on its feet, their girth would, doubtless, have been enlarged, somewhat, by its weight.



SKULL OF THE ELEPHANT.

	Feet.	Inches.
Circumference of tusks	1	6½
Breadth between points of tusks . . .	6	9½
Length of head	3	4½
Breadth of skull at broadest point . . .	3	2¼

RALPH AND THE BONES.

His tusks are a large and even pair; and the skull and leg bones are said to be larger and more perfect specimens than any that are to be found in

* The engraving of the skull of the elephant is taken from a photograph, and from the peculiar position in which it had to be taken, does not do it justice. The perspective of it looks, too, very queer.

the museums of Europe. I had them all preserved, and they are still in my possession. On the surface of the skull are several old bullet-holes nearly ossified up; the bony matter having been poured out on the sides of the cavities in a stalactitic form.

The two most vulnerable parts* of an elephant to aim at is the depression over the root of the trunk, about six inches above the eyes. The bone of the skull is here honeycombed and thin, and the bullet passing through the muscles encasing the roots of the trunk penetrates the brain and causes instantaneous death. The other is at the temples between the ear and the eye, and is perhaps even the most certain and deadly shot of the two. The former is called the forehead and the latter the side shot; and both shots should be delivered within a distance of twenty paces. The bullets require to be hardened with zinc, tin, or quicksilver; for if made of pure lead they are apt to flatten, and not penetrate the skull.

Shortly afterwards I had a narrow escape from another elephant. His reputation was quite as bad as that of the monster above mentioned, and he must also have fully equalled him in size. Lord Dalhousie had been paying a visit at Bassein, and when he took his departure I accompanied him to the mouth of the Bassein river. After taking leave, I anchored for the night in one of the large creeks.

* See letters E and A of the skeleton of the elephant.

About midnight I was aroused by cries from the village. I imagined that one of the many marauding bands had attacked the village. I landed at once, and marched at the head of my men towards the spot. Presently a woman rushed by, shouting "Demon Elephant! Demon Elephant!" On enquiry it appeared that a solitary elephant, well known as the "Mie-dho" or "broken-tailed," had entered the village, and by means of his head and tusks, had managed to break down the strong planking of teak timber which formed the outer wall of a Buddhist monastery. This proceeding had sufficed to alarm the whole village. I ordered all who knew anything of the elephant's haunts to be in readiness next morning, as I was resolved, if possible, to follow him up and carry off the tusks which had done so much damage.

There was no difficulty in tracing the foot-prints of the "broken-tailed." We followed them throughout the day, and towards evening we found him lying on his side in some low bush-jungle. I crept up to him so closely that I could have touched him with my out-stretched rifle; but he kept on moving his head, so that I could not fire with any certainty. His tusks appeared enormous. I was longing for the moment when I could dig them out of his skull; when he suddenly gave a *shrill trumpet*,* leapt up,

* A shrill cry of rage—so called—caused by the elephant blowing through its proboscis, or trunk, and which generally precedes the charge. We have

and came down upon me, just as I had got on my own feet. His head was slanting upwards, with his trunk rolled up. I fired my first barrel, but having to jump on one side to avoid his charge, I was unable to fire the second. He rushed straight away. He had *smelt* * me, but had not seen me; and this circumstance, together with the shock of the bullet, luckily prevented him from judging of the distance between us. He left a track of blood behind him, which we followed till nightfall, but did not succeed in getting another glimpse of the elephant.

Major Leveson (the Old Shekarry)—and my experience corresponds with his—describes the elephant as uttering four distinct sounds, each of which is indicative of a certain meaning. The first is a shrill whistling noise produced by blowing through the trunk, which denotes satisfaction. The second is the note of alarm, or surprise, a sound made by the mouth, which may be thus imitated—"pr-rut, pr-rut." The third is the trumpeting noise they make when angry, which, when they are very much enraged, and when charging an assailant, changes into a hoarse roar or terrific scream. The fourth sound betokens

borrowed the term from ancient writers, who describe the elephant's trunk as shaped similar to a trumpet, and the roar like its "shrill bray." Our term "trunk" is, I believe, a corruption of the French word *trompe*.

* The senses of smell and hearing in the elephant are very acute as compared with its sight, and it depends much more on the two former, rather than the latter, to warn it of danger.

dissatisfaction, or distress, frequently repeated when separated from the herd, tired, hungry, or overloaded, which may be thus imitated—"urmph, urmph."

Next morning I was called away by some disturbances which had broken out in another part of the country; no uncommon thing in those days. I left some men to follow up the track of the elephant. Subsequently they reported that they had found him, but in a very exhausted state. They were afraid to venture near him. From their account it was evident that my ball had gone through several folds of his trunk, and passed out at the top of his head, without striking any vital part. Some time afterwards I came on his track on two several occasions, but I could not succeed in coming up to him.

Besides these anecdotes of sport, I should like to have explained some of the details of civil work at Bassein, but I fear they would prove of little interest for general readers. I had to distribute the whole of the district into divisions and circles, and select Burmese officials to take charge; but it was a long time before I could altogether suppress the gross malpractices, of which I have already given an example. Salt manufactures required a considerable amount of attention for revenue purposes. Whilst I was in Bassein I had to plan out the new town of

Dalhousie, and lay down rules for the grant of town and suburban allotments. I had also to make revenue settlements, and submit revenue returns for the whole district. Official life in Bassein involved something more than shooting elephants and suppressing bands of rebels and robbers.

My last year at Bassein was characterised by a rebellion amongst the Karens, which I was enabled to suppress with the aid of my military police corps.* About this time the Treasury and Court-house caught fire, and the conflagration became pretty general. Fortunately we were enabled to save the gaol and barracks, but my own house was burnt down and nearly all my books and papers were destroyed. On this occasion I lost the private journal which I had kept ever since my first landing in India.

In 1857† I was promoted to the post of Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban provinces, which formed the northern division of British Burma. Martaban, like Bassein, was in reality a part of the new territory of Pegu, which was acquired at the

* The Karen rebellion continued to disturb other parts of the country for some time afterwards. Its origin, with some account of the Karens generally, will be told presently.

† Before leaving Bassein, I had the satisfaction of receiving the following compliment from the Commissioner and Governor-General's agent in Pegu :— "You will leave the district of Bassein profoundly quiet, a district which you reduced to order in a style which earned for you the marked approbation of the Government of India, and the distinction of an honorary reward for distinguished service from Her Majesty."

end of the second Burmese war. Tenasserim, on the other hand, had been acquired after the first Burmese war of 1824–25, and consequently had been for more than thirty years under British administration.

It was during this year that the great Indian peninsula was convulsed by the Sepoy mutiny. It is a remarkable fact that the spirit of military revolt found no echo in British Burma. The whole province was perfectly tranquil. The only shadow of disturbance was caused by the Karen* rising. It had been suppressed in Bassein, but was assuming a threatening character in Martaban and the interior. The Burmese people, properly so called, took no part in it. It was a religious movement amongst the Karens of the hills; and in order to understand it aright, it may be as well to furnish a few particulars respecting the religious ideas of these primitive tribes.

The Karens are a different people from the Burmese. According to Dr. Mason, whom I shall have occasion to notice presently, they probably emigrated from China about the sixth century of the Christian era. They seem to have moved from China, by way of Tibet, into Burmese territory. Like

* Karen is a Burmese word, and said to be derived from Areng, root, original, and Ka, a primitive particle: thus signifying aboriginal. They are certainly not the aborigines of Burma, however, as they immigrated into the country subsequent to the Burmese.

hill tribes in general, they have nothing that can be called history. Many became more or less Buddhists, but the greater number professed a religion of their own, which seemed to be a relic of primeval revelation. They have traditions of the fall of man, the deluge, the dispersion of nations, and the differences of language; but all these are mixed up with ideas which have no place in Holy Writ, and seem to have sprung up from independent sources.

For these traditions the world is indebted to Dr. Mason, the well-known American missionary. Dr. and Mrs. Mason spent very many years amongst the Karens. They laboured hard to civilise the people, to educate them, and to convert them to Christianity. Their efforts have been attended with considerable success. Dr. Mason has written an exhaustive work on Burma.* Amongst other interesting particulars, he gives the following Karen tradition of the fall of man. It professes to be a literal translation of some rude verses which have been preserved by these people:—

"Anciently, God commanded, but Satan appeared bringing destruction.
Formerly, God commanded, but Satan appeared deceiving unto death.
The woman Eu and the man Tha-nai pleased not the eye of the dragon.

* "Burma, its People and Natural Productions." By Dr. F. Mason. Rangoon, 1860.

The dragon looked on them—the dragon beguiled the woman and Tha-nai.
How is this said to have happened?
The great dragon succeeded in deceiving—deceiving unto death.
How do they say it was done?
A yellow fruit took the great dragon, and gave to the children of God;
A white fruit took the great dragon, and gave to the daughter and son of God.
They transgressed the commands of God, and God turned his face from them.
They kept not all the words of God—were deceived, deceived unto sickness.
They kept not all the law of God—were deceived, deceived unto death."*

The tradition of the deluge is by no means so striking. Similar traditions are to be found amongst many ancient nations, and notably amongst the Hindus. The legend of the origin of the differences in languages, and the dispersion of nations is more

* The Karens identify the great dragon here mentioned with the serpent known as the python or boa constrictor. According to a Karen legend, all the poisonous serpents in the world derive their virulence from the python. In the present day the python is innocuous, but originally it was the only one that was venomous. There is a strange myth that in primeval times the python was perfectly white; but having seduced a man's wife, Eu (Eve), he made her white in his den, and caused her to weave the figures on his skin, which are the characteristics of the modern python. If the ancient python bit the earth, such was the virulence of the poison that it killed anyone who passed over the bitten part. The python had been assured of this result, but had never seen it. One day he went to a crow, who told him that the poison caused no hurt, but promoted the happiness of the animal creation. The python was so angry at this information, that he ascended a tree and spit out all his venom, and other creeping things came and swallowed it. The result was that venom left the python, and was henceforth the property of a variety of poisonous reptiles. This myth is an illustration of the way in which eastern imaginations associate fabulous details with primitive legends. As regards the modern python, I shall have some remarks to offer hereafter.

extraordinary. It bears a remarkable resemblance to the Bible narrative, excepting that it involves no reference to the building of the tower of Babel, and is apparently a transposition or reversion of the sacred story. In the Bible narrative the confusion of tongues comes first, and leads to the dispersion of the nations. According to the Karens, the dispersion of the nations comes first. It is not brought about by the confusion of tongues, but by the decay of loving-kindness amongst mankind in general. Moreover, it was the dispersion of the nations led to the differences of language, and not the confusion of language which led to the dispersion of the nations.

Dr. Mason says that these traditions must have come from a written source, and that there is no other source than the Old Testament. He remarks that there have been Jews in China from time immemorial, and that ancient copies of the Pentateuch, written on sheep-skins, have been found in their possession. He suggests that the Karens may have obtained their traditions from Chinese Jews prior to their emigration from China in the sixth century, already alluded to. I believe other missionaries have hazarded the idea that the White Karens may be descended from the Ten Tribes.

I leave the hypothesis of Dr. Mason for the consideration of Biblical critics. I hesitate to form an opinion until something further is known re-

specting all the primitive traditions of other ancient nations. The Karens certainly have not the slightest resemblance to Jews.* They have no Jewish institutions. The traditions of the fall, the deluge, the dispersion of nations, and the origin of the differences of language, are undoubtedly suggestive; but they may be relics of some primeval and universal revelation, granted to all nations, which is supposed by many to have preceded the later and special revelation, which was made to the Jews only, as the chosen people of God.

Dr. Mason adds that the Karens have a prophetic kind of legend to the effect that at some future day "white foreigners" would appear amongst them and teach them the true religion. The zealous missionary naturally interpreted this prediction as referring to the appearance of himself and other members of his mission amongst the Karens; and there is every reason to believe that the tradition has proved efficacious in promoting the spread of Christianity amongst them. Dr. Mason says, however, that this prophecy is not confined to the Karens. He explains that when Gutslaff, a German missionary, reached Siam, there was a general panic, because predictions were to be found in the Pali

* In my description of the Karen and Toung-thoo tribes in Chapter VII. it will be observed that I think there are good grounds for supposing them to be descendants of remnants of dispersed hordes of Huns.

books, that a time would come when Buddhism would be vanquished by a religion from the West.

With reference to the same subject a curious legend * is related also of an Emperor of China (Ming-ty of the Hân dynasty, who reigned about the middle of the first century of the Christian era) who, pondering over a certain prophecy of Confucius, to the effect that a saint would appear in the far West, sent emissaries to seek him out. These on their way through India met Buddhist priests, from whom they procured, and brought back with them, images of Gautama and his sacred writings. From this extraordinary story it might be inferred that, but for an inscrutable accident, Christianity, rather than Buddhism, might have prevailed in China. The whole matter is a mystery. One of the most striking episodes in the Gospel narrative of the birth of our Lord, is the appearance of the wise men from the east.

It is a startling fact that the Karen rebellion was in general accordance with religious ideas which are familiar to all Christians. The leader was a mysterious character, named Meng-Loung, who affected to be an incarnation of deity. He proclaimed that he had appeared on earth to drive the English out of Burma, and establish a Karen dynasty in Pegu. Meng-Loung was a vulgar

* "The Chinese," by Davis.

impostor, but many of the simple Karens placed implicit faith in his divine mission. They joined him in large numbers from the most remote villages. The rebellion was suppressed in the end, but not until it had given considerable trouble to the English authorities. An excitement prevailed for months afterwards amongst the Hill Karens. Meng-Loung was still at large, and every attempt to capture him proved abortive. At last it was known that he had made his escape out of British territory, and found a refuge in the remote region of Eastern Karennee.

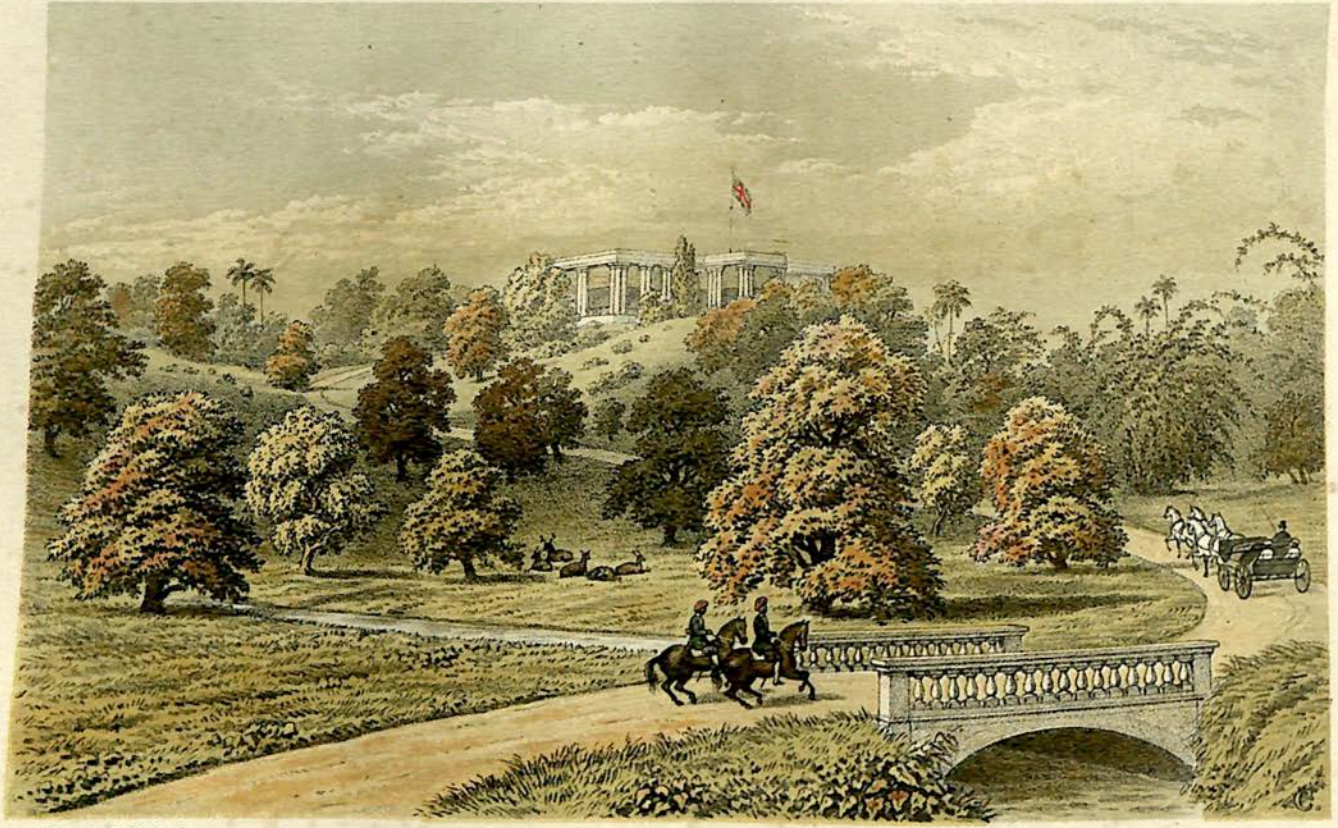
Throughout the thirty years that Tenasserim had been under British administration, the line of frontier had never been settled between Burma and Siam. From the time I took up the duties of commissioner, my attention was frequently drawn to the subject. At last I received instructions from the government of India to open up negotiations with commissioners appointed for the purpose by the King of Siam. It was necessary, in the first instance, to study the face of the country along the border.

Next followed the negotiations with the Siamese commissioners, which extended over many weeks, and were often enlivened by sharp disputes and brisk discussions. The correspondence alone fills a respectable printed volume, and to this might

be added a number of semi-official letters which I received from the King of Siam and his prime minister. Years passed away before the line of frontier was fairly laid down in maps, and ratified by the two governments. At last every formality was brought to a close. Questions were set at rest which had been raised from time to time ever since the first Burmese war.

Maulmain, the chief town and port of Tenasserim, is situated at the confluence of the Salween, Gyne, and Attaran rivers, about twenty-seven miles from the sea, and is built on the southern slopes of well-wooded hills crowned by numerous symmetrical gold tipped pagodas. The river here is a mile and a quarter broad, studded with bright green and thickly wooded islands, famed for their productive gardens, and rich rice-producing soil; and on the opposite shore is the ancient town and pagoda of Martaban.

Approaching Maulmain from the sea, and looking up the Salween river, the eye is attracted by the bare perpendicular cliffs of Dza-kabin, standing out in bold relief 2,000 feet high, on the sharp outline of whose summit, where it cuts the clear blue sky, nature has carved features so curiously resembling a human face as to obtain for it the name of the "Duke of York's nose." This is one only, though perhaps the most conspicuous, of several gigantic limestone rocks, which rise from the plains in isolated grandeur near



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SALWEEN HOUSE, MAULMAIN.

Maulmain. They appear in detached masses, rising as it were perpendicularly out of the earth; and as each mass preserves a similar direction with the one preceding it, they bear at a distance the semblance of an extensive rugged chain, continually broken and interrupted by some great convulsion of nature. Their general structure is mural limestone of a grey colour, and fine compact texture, presenting little or no signs of stratification.

Another characteristic of this limestone is that it is cavernous. Many of the caves are of considerable magnitude, and have, at some distant period, evidently been worn out by the "desolating power of the ocean." They are well worthy of a visit. To examine them properly, and see them to the best advantage, is with a number of torches and blue lights. About the centre of one of the finest of them, in a vast hall, with a roof groined like an old cathedral, and dimly lighted high overhead by a ray of light striking through a fissure in the rock, graceful stalactites, white and glittering as snow-clad icicles, are suspended; while stalagmites rear their hoary heads in fantastic grandeur from the floor. Many of these stalactites and stalagmites are of great size, and gradually becoming larger from the constant supply of water impregnated with calcareous matter, percolating through the hill, and giving a new crust to those already formed.

These caves, too, are almost all lined with figures in wood and stone of Gautama and his disciples, the former represented in a state of abstraction, sitting in the usual manner, with the right hand pendant over the right knee, the left hand resting open on the lap, and the head often arrayed, as well as those of his disciples, with the "glory," or nimbus.*

The most important item in the trade of Maulmain,† is teak timber, almost all of which comes from foreign territory. In former times, the merchants at Maulmain carried on large and lucrative transactions in this timber, with various hill chiefs beyond our borders. Some of these chiefs owe a quasi-allegiance to the King of Burma; others, a similar allegiance to Siam; and some consider themselves altogether independent. For a long time when timber was abundant, matters went on tolerably smoothly. Logs were purchased; the chiefs were

* "The nimbus that distinguishes the Greek and Romanist saints is of eastern origin. Buddha is said to have been attended by an appearance of glory, extending six cubits above his head; and his principal disciples are represented by the native painters as having a similar mark of eminence."—Hardy's "Eastern Monachism."

† Maulmain, called by Portuguese historians the Castle of Murmulau, is, according to Dr. Mason, a Talaing word, and derived from *moot*, eye, *mwoa*, one, *lem*, destroyed, that is, Moot-mwoa-lem (the city of), the one-eye-destroyed. The tradition is, that the city was founded by a king with three eyes, the third eye being in the forehead, but that by the machinations of a woman, the eye in the forehead was destroyed, and hence the city obtained the name of the "one-eye-destroyed." The classic Pali name of Maulmain is Ramapura, the city of Rama, and there is a tradition that it was founded by a colony of Hindûs.

satisfied with the amounts they received; and splendid timber was cut down in the forests, and floated down to Maulmain.

Of late years, however, when timber has become scarcer, and has to be dragged long distances from the forests in the interior, to the different water-courses, quarrels have arisen between the chiefs for its ownership, caravans have been attacked and plundered; and different chiefs making demands for separate payments for the same logs, have given rise to great litigation, and very considerably interrupted the trade. This state of affairs has been attempted to be remedied, by the despatch of several friendly missions to these chiefs; but without any great perceptible effect.

The falling off in its chief staple of commerce, has sadly interfered with the prosperity of Maulmain: a town once regarded as the most flourishing one in all the British possessions in Burma. It is still the head-quarters of a Commissioner of Division; but Rangoon, with all its superior advantages, has now completely overshadowed it.

A short description of bringing the timber to the Maulmain market may be interesting. Teak wood in its green state will not float, and the tree is killed and seasoned previous to felling, by what is technically called ringing. The process is effected by cutting a ring of bark from the bole near the ground,

about one foot in breadth. The following year it is felled and stamped, and then dragged by elephants to the banks of the Salween river, or some of its numerous tributaries; there it is launched into the water, and left to find its own way down—a distance often of a couple of hundred miles—to the rope station at Kyo-dan, where a very strong cable of twisted rattans is stretched across a narrow part of the stream to intercept the floating logs. The timber is there claimed by its owners, rafted, and taken down to Kado, the Government timber revenue station near Maulmain, where the duty is paid, and the timber cleared for export; or for use in the ship-building yards of Maulmain.

The teak * (*Tectona grandis*) is an oily wood, of great toughness and durability, and is perhaps the most generally useful timber in the whole world. It is most easily worked, and, in combined strength, lightness, and elasticity, there is none to compare with it. The backing of our ironclads is composed of teak, and it is extensively used for railway carriages. The oil contained in this timber protects it from the attacks of insects, including that destructive one—the white ant. It has the property also of preserving iron from rust, and vessels built of teak do not require copper fastening. I remember seeing the wreck of an old teak vessel broken up near

* A full description of this valuable timber tree will be found in Chapter V.

Maulmain, that was said to have been running for over sixty years, and the iron bolts taken out of it, which had been in contact with the wood, were perfectly free from rust. When unseasoned, it weighs from fifty-five to sixty pounds per cubic foot; but when seasoned, by the process described above, the weight of good close-grained, is about forty pounds per cubic foot.

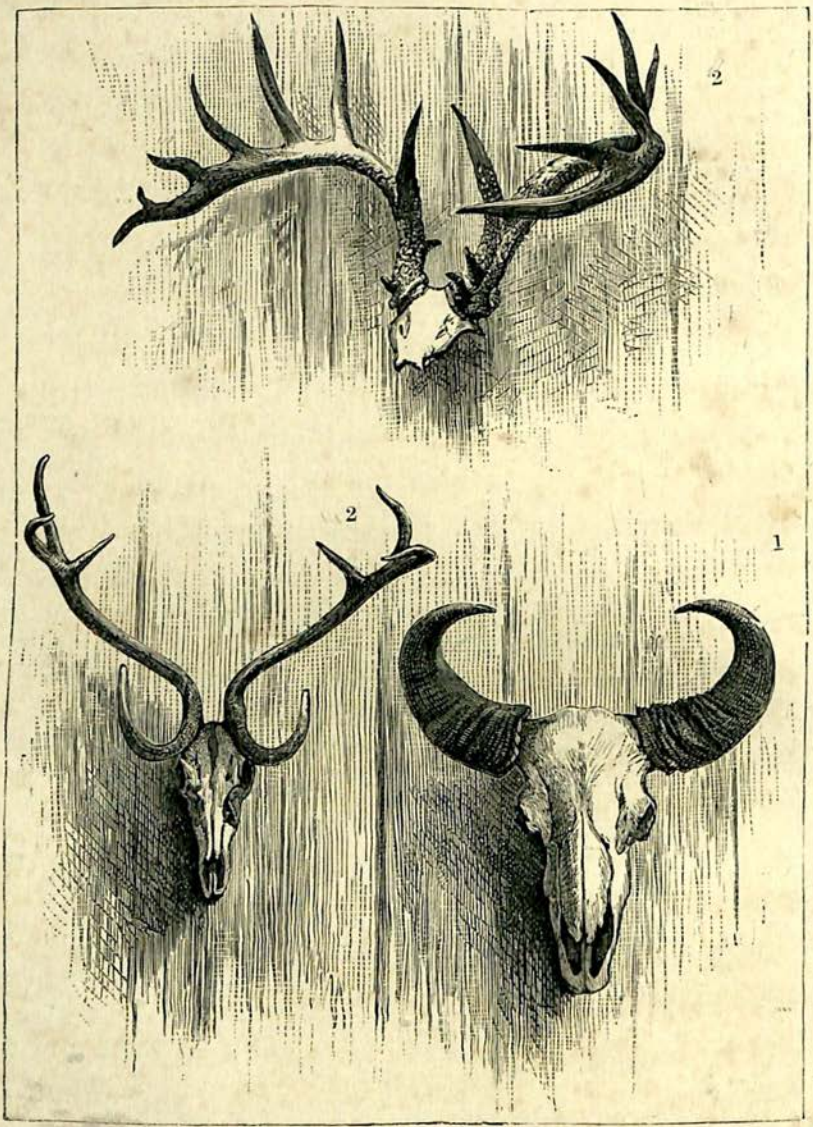
A remarkable incident occurred to me at Maulmain, which made a deep impression upon my imagination. Believers in the supernatural are laughed at in these days of material science; ghost stories are especially derided; and yet, whilst I was residing at Maulmain I saw a ghost with my own eyes in broad daylight, of which I could make an affidavit. I had an old schoolfellow, who was afterwards a college friend, with whom I had lived in the closest intimacy. Years, however, passed away without our seeing each other. One morning I had just got out of bed, and was dressing myself, when suddenly my old friend entered the room. I greeted him warmly; told him to call for a cup of tea in the verandah; and promised to be with him immediately.

I dressed myself in all haste, and went out into the verandah, but found no one there. I could not believe my eyes. I called to the sentry, who was posted at the front of the house, but he had seen

no strange gentleman that morning. The servants also declared that no such person had entered the house. I was certain I had seen my friend. I was not thinking about him at the time; yet I was not taken by surprise, as steamers and other vessels were frequently arriving at Maulmain. A fortnight afterwards, news arrived that he had died, six hundred miles off, about the very time I saw him at Maulmain. It is useless to comment upon this story. To this day I have never doubted that I really saw the ghost of my deceased friend.

Before leaving Tenasserim, I may be permitted to say a few words respecting the sport also to be found there. I have hitherto said nothing about deer; and deer of nearly all the species common to India and the Malayan Peninsula, are generally diffused throughout Burma. The natives have a peculiar way of catching and killing them. They go out in a party on a dark night. A man walks in front having a large lantern, with a powerful bull's eye, on his head. He carries a bell in his hand which he occasionally tinkles. The deer approach the light, appear fascinated by it, and are easily speared, or cut down with the Burmese sword known as a *dha*.

One night I joined a party of this description, but found it very poor sport. It was also trying work walking over the rough ground in the dark,



1. Head of Bos Gaurus.
2. Heads of Cervus Frontalis.

for all the light of the lantern was thrown in front. The man who carried the lantern on this occasion, told me that during one of these expeditions he came upon a tiger. He said he was horribly frightened. The eyes of the tiger were fixed upon the lantern; in that light they assumed a bright green colour. The man shook off his lantern, and there was a general *sauve qui peut;* luckily the tiger did not follow them.

There is one particularly beautiful species of deer, the *Panolia eldi,* or *Cervus frontalis,* which is peculiar to Burma, and the adjacent valley of Manipúr. The stag has large horns for its size, —which is about that of a fallow deer—with very prominent brow antlers, and is, altogether, a very elegantly formed animal. This remarkable deer is highly gregarious, resorting to large plains, and openings in the forest. In the large open plain near Thatún, in the Martaban district, I shot, one morning, nine fine full-grown stags of this species. There were several herds of them feeding in the plain at the time, and they were driven past a small patch of jungle where I was concealed, by a number of men placed some distance apart, holding cords in their hands, with plantain leaves attached, by which means they were able to extend to a long distance, and encircle a large space of ground.

The last tiger I killed in Burma was shot whilst

stalking deer, near that part of the Siamese frontier which is formed by the Pak-chan river. The forest had been partially cleared, and a number of Chevrotain, or mouse deer,* were feeding and playing about. My gun was a smooth bore, loaded with swan shot. In order to get within range, I crept on my hands and knees through a small patch of bamboo jungle. On reaching the opposite side, I suddenly found myself face to face with a tiger devouring a boa constrictor or python.†

I was so close that I felt the hot breath of the tiger in my face. My gun was on my hip; I fired both barrels without raising it, and ran backwards through the jungle. A second's delay might have cost me my life. As it was, the tiger was killed, and I escaped unhurt. Two charges of shot, fired with the muzzle nearly touching him, had made a tremendous hole in his chest. Perhaps the immediate shock was greater than if I had fired bullets. Tigers, and in fact all the *Felidæ*, are said to take a pleasure in eating snakes. I have seen a common domestic cat in Burma playing with a snake before

* *Tragulus karchil.* They are beautiful little animals, with a medial black stripe on the chest, and are not much larger than an English hare. The term deer, though strictly correct, is apt to convey a false impression as to their size.

† The difference between the python and the boa constrictor is very slight—about the same as the difference between a lawyer and a solicitor! Their constrictive powers are the same, and even their principal anatomical details are almost exactly alike. According to Pliny, the name of boa was given to these serpents because they were said to be nourished by the milk of cows, and to have followed the herds for the sake of the milk.

devouring it. Its paw was on the neck of the snake, whilst the reptile was coiling round the cat's body.

The tiger in question had devoured about a third of the boa constrictor. As far as we could judge from what remained, the boa or python must have been about sixteen feet in length. Shortly after my arrival in India, I met one of these serpents in the Sylhet jungles. It had just before swallowed a hog deer,* and was very nearly in a torpid state. We found the hog deer in its stomach; the boa had stripped all the flesh and skin from the head, leaving the other parts uninjured.† It had then covered the whole with a glutinous saliva, and swallowed the animal head foremost. The stag was full-grown; the horns were not fully developed, but the points must have caused some inconvenience to the boa in their passage downwards.

The python, or boa constrictor, properly so-called, is without venom. But the absence of the poison is amply compensated by the immense power of its muscles. As already seen, it is able to kill large animals by constriction, preparatory to swallowing them whole.‡

* *Hyelaphus Porcinus.*

† This is a curious fact. I do not remember seeing it mentioned in the works of any naturalist, that any of the *Boidæ* treated the head of their prey in this fashion before deglutition. Yet this was certainly the case in the present instance.

‡ The gall bladder and the fat of the python are much sought after by the

In Anglo-Indian or Anglo-Burman life, events soon die away, and are forgotten. Wars and disturbances may excite a passing interest, and are generally worthy of permanent record; but the ordinary work of civil administration, like all ordinary daily duty, soon drops into oblivion. I thought I had much to tell of Arakan, Bassein, and Tenasserim, during the many years I was there. I find however, as I go over my old records, that I have but little to relate. Matters of great interest and importance at the time, which occupied much anxious thought, and which I had fondly fancied would prove attractive topics to my countrymen in general, have shrivelled into the few dry facts I have given, and will, I fear, coupled with the hard Burmese words, create but little interest to the casual reader.

natives of Burma. The former is valued for its medicinal virtues. The fat is used as an ointment for the cure of rheumatism, strains, and other similar inflictions.

CHAPTER IV.

MY MISSION TO MANDALAY, 1867: AND NARRATIVE OF FORMER MISSIONS TO THE KINGS OF BURMA.

Succeed Major-General Sir Arthur Phayre, as Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor-General.—Our political relations with the Princes of India and King of Burma.—Early intercourse between European nations and Kings of Burma.—Dutch, French, and English factories in Burma.—Former subservience of the old East India Company.—British Envoys sent to Alompra in 1755 and 1757.—Description of Alompra.—English settlement at Negrais overpowered, and its inhabitants massacred by the Burmese.—Colonel Symes's mission to Ava.—Its failure.—Father Sangermano.—Captain Hiram Cox, British Agent at Rangoon, proceeds to Ava.—Is recalled.—Colonel Symes proceeds on a second mission to Ava.—Its total failure.—Captain Canning sent as British Agent to Rangoon.—Summoned to Ava by the King.—Returns to Calcutta—Sent again to Rangoon; but immediately recalled.—Burmese war of 1824-26.—Treaty of peace signed at Yandabo.—Mr. John Crawfurd proceeds as Envoy to Ava.—Narrative of his mission.—Concludes a short supplementary commercial treaty.—Major Burney deputed as Resident to the Court of Ava.—Remains there seven years.—Succeeded by Colonel Benson.—He returns after six months' residence.—Leaves his Assistant, Captain Macleod, in charge.—Captain Macleod leaves on plea of ill-health.—Second Burmese war of 1852-53.—Due advantage not taken of our conquest.—Complimentary mission sent to Calcutta by the King of Burma.—Return mission sent under Sir Arthur Phayre.—King refuses to sign any treaty; but friendly relations are established.—Burmese capital transferred from Amarapúra to Mándalay.—The three divisions of Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim amalgamated, and consolidated, into the province of British Burma.—Colonel Phayre appointed Chief Commissioner of the province.—He concludes the treaty of 1862.—Unsatisfactory working of the treaty.—British officers sent to explore the upper course of the Salween river, sent back by the Burmese authorities.—An English gentleman insolently beaten in the streets of Mandalay.—Insurrection at Mandalay.—Crown Prince assassinated.—Flight of two of the King's sons into British Burma.—Insurrection suppressed.—Colonel Phayre proceeds on another mission to the King of Burma.—Failure of the mission.—I succeed Colonel Phayre.—The King abolishes some of his monopolies, and reduces his frontier dues.—Execution of the Pudyne Prince.—I proceed as Envoy to the King of

Burma.—Splendid reception by the King.—King invests me with the Order of the Tsalwé.—Great success of the mission.—Conclude the treaty of 1867.—Character of the King.—The King of Burma an absolute despot.—The King's councils.—The kingdom of Burma, how divided and governed.—No distinction between civil and military services.—The Burmese army.—Condition of slaves in Burma.—The Queen's and Zenana establishment of the King of Burma.—Description of Mandalay and king's palace.—Comparative merits of British and Burmese rule.

On the 11th of March, 1867, I succeeded Major-General Sir Arthur Phayre, as Chief Commissioner of British Burma, and Agent to the Viceroy and Governor-General. These official designations will probably prove unintelligible to most English readers. The Chief Commissioner of British Burma is in reality the governor of the province, under the supreme control of the Government of India. The Agent to the Viceroy is, or rather was in my time, the local representative of the Government of India in the conduct of all political and diplomatic intercourse with the Burmese Court at Mandalay; either by direct correspondence with the King, or through the assistant to the Agent, who resided at Mandalay.*

In 1867 the post of Agent was one of no small responsibility. The relations between the British government and the King of Burma were engaging the serious attention of the Viceroy of India, the

* Three or four years after I left Burma, the Government of India found it necessary to take the conduct of political relations with the king into their own hands. In the present day the British Resident at Mandalay is in direct communication with the Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, without the intervention of the Chief Commissioner.

present Lord Lawrence. Shortly after I had assumed charge of the Province, it was determined that I should proceed on a mission to the Court of Mandalay, for the purpose of negotiating a new treaty with the King of Burma. Before telling the story of this mission, it may be as well to glance at the rise and progress of our political relations with the Burmese empire.

There are few things more extraordinary in the annals of the world, than the history of our political relations with native princes in the East. In India the growth of British power is obscured by a system of subsidiary alliances. When the old wars with Indian princes had been brought to a close, about the year 1818, the British government found itself pledged to maintain the native powers in their respective territories. It guarded against their making war upon each other, or carrying on any political negotiations amongst themselves, excepting through the medium of its own political officers. It rigidly prohibited all communication whatever with any foreign nation, European or Asiatic. It put a stop for ever to an objectionable practice which had grown up during the eighteenth century, under which native princes had taken French and other European officers into their service, for the purpose of drilling their armies in the same way that the East India Company's officers had drilled the English sepoys.

In a word, the British government had become the paramount power from the Himalayas to Comorin. A British contingent was furnished to every native prince for his own protection, as well as for the general maintenance of the public peace throughout the Empire; and the charges for these contingents were provided for by special arrangements, either by the cession of territories, or the yearly payment of tribute, all of which are duly set forth in the several treaties that brought the wars to a close.

In dealing with Burma, no subsidiary alliance was ever contemplated. In the earlier years of British ascendency, the king of Burma was always regarded as an independent sovereign, whom it was desirable to propitiate by any and every means in our power. This fiction of treating the semi-barbarian monarch as superior to the English authorities at Calcutta or elsewhere, was kept up, with some exceptions, throughout the period which preceded the first Burmese war of 1824-25. During the interval of nearly thirty years which separates the first and second Burmese wars, there were no cordial relations between the two states. After the second Burmese war of 1852-53, my predecessor, Sir Arthur Phayre, brought about a better understanding with the king; and I trust I shall be able to show that the treaty I negotiated in 1867, also

further tended to establish a new and more satisfactory political relationship.

The early intercourse between Europeans and the King of Ava, which was carried on during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, furnishes singular instances of the barbarous arrogance of the latter potentate. The Kings of Pegu and Arakan, from their proximity to the coast, had learned to respect Europeans. Not so the King of Ava, in the remote interior. Fear may have sometimes induced him to seek the assistance of Europeans; but the moment it subsided he became as puffed up as ever. A story is told of the Portuguese times in the early part of the seventeenth century which furnishes an amusing instance of these alternations of fear and pride.

About 1616 the King of Ava was terrified at a threatened alliance between his natural enemies, the Kings of Siam and Arakan. He sent an embassy to the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa. The Portuguese Viceroy sent a return embassy to Ava. By this time the King of Ava had ceased to be afraid of Siam or Arakan. He no longer craved help, but insolently sought to assert his superior dignity. The Portuguese envoy was kept at Ava for weeks without obtaining an interview with the King. At last he was promised an audience at midnight. At that hour he was led to a dark place, and told to speak

out, on which the King would answer him. The envoy did speak out, but received no answer whatever. In the end he was fairly tired out, and returned to Goa without having had a single opportunity of speaking to the King.

At a later period the Dutch and English were permitted to establish factories in various parts of Burma. They penetrated to Bhamo, the frontier town towards China. A quarrel ensued between the Dutch and the King of Ava. The Dutch were imprudent enough to threaten to bring about an invasion of Ava by the Chinese. The King of Ava was naturally furious at such an unwarrantable declaration. He turned both Dutch and English out of his dominions; and from that time the Dutch were never re-admitted into upper Burma. The English were treated with greater forbearance, and after some years were permitted to return to Ava territory.*

The subservience of the English servants of the old East India Company to the Kings of Ava or

* This anecdote, which is related by Crawfurd, has some bearing upon recent proceedings. The Dutch managed to offend the King of Ava only, by threatening to bring the Chinese into Ava territory. Since I left Burma a policy was pursued which might have landed us in a war with China as well as with Burma. Shortly, previous to the Panthay rebellion in Yunan being crushed, and when the struggle was at its height, envoys from the Panthays were ostensibly entertained at Rangoon, and sent on to England, while envoys from the King of Burma, proceeding about the same time to Calcutta and England, were received in anything but a cordial manner. This policy was, however, very properly reversed on the arrival of the two missions in England.

Burma, is sufficiently shown by their letters or petitions to that famous potentate. Mr. Nathaniel Higgenson, who was governor of Madras in the latter end of the seventeenth century, sent an envoy to the king with the following letter:

"To his Imperial Majesty, who blesseth the noble city of Ava with his presence, Emperor of Emperors, and excelling the Kings of the East and of the West in glory and honour; the clear firmament of virtue, the fountain of justice, the perfection of wisdom, the lord of charity, and protector of the distressed; the first mover in the sphere of greatness, president in council, victorious in war; who feareth none, and is feared by all; centre of the treasures of earth and sea; lord proprietor of gold and silver, rubies, amber, and all precious jewels; favoured by Heaven, and honoured by men; whose brightness shines through the world as the light of the sun, and whose great name will be preserved in perpetual memory."

After this outburst of flattery, Mr. Higgenson approached the subject of business in the following courtly language:—"The fame of so glorious an Emperor, the lord of power and riches, being spread through the whole earth, all nations resort to view the splendour of your greatness, and, with your Majesty's subjects, to partake of the blessings which God Almighty hath bestowed upon your

kingdoms above all others. Your Majesty has been pleased to grant your especial favours to the Honourable English Company, whose servant I am; and now send to present before the footstool of your throne a few toys, as an acknowledgment of your Majesty's goodness, which I beg your Majesty to accept, and to vouchsafe an audience to my servants, and a gracious answer to my petition!

"I humbly pray your Majesty's fountain of goodness to continue your wonted favours to the Right Honourable English Company, and to permit our factors to buy and sell, in such commodities, and under such privileges, as your royal bounty shall please to grant; and allow us such conveniences as are necessary for the repair of ships, whereby I shall be accustomed to send my ships yearly to your Majesty's ports; having orders from the Honourable Company to send ships and factors into all parts of India, when their service requires it; and pray your Majesty to give me leave to send a factor next monsoon to reside at Syriam." *

The embassy was well received, and the petition was granted. The English were permitted to establish a factory on the island of Negrais, at the mouth of the Bassein river. For a long period the English traded with the Burmese on an amicable footing. Large timber yards were established in

* "Crawfurd," vol. ii. pp. 360, 361.

the island, and ships were built of teak of a sufficient size to navigate the Eastern seas.

Sixty years passed away. The Burmese Empire was revolutionised by the insurrection of Alompra, the founder of the present dynasty of Kings of Burma. He had driven the Talaings out of the kingdom of Ava, which they had subdued a few years before, and brought a large force down the River Irrawadi for the siege of the Talaing, capital of Pegu. At this time the English had, besides the settlement on the island of Negrais, a factory at Syriam. The French also had a factory at Syriam. During the war between Alompra and the King of Pegu, it was difficult for either English or French to know exactly which side to take. Both were anxious to take opposite sides, in order to gratify the hatred and rivalry which at that time subsisted between the English and French throughout the world. Each, however, was so anxious to stand well with both parties, that the English appear to have allied with Alompra, whilst selling arms and ammunition to the King of Pegu, and the French in like manner seemed to have allied themselves with the King of Pegu, whilst trying to keep on friendly terms with Alompra. In the end Alompra gained the mastery. He conquered the whole of Pegu, and with the intuitive genius of a conqueror, he founded the modern seaport of Rangoon.

It was about this juncture that the English sent envoys to Alompra, one in 1755,* and a second in 1757.† Stories of the old world diplomacy may be regarded as somewhat obsolete in the present day, but there are certain details related by the two envoys, which are of singular interest. They serve to bring out the individuality of Alompra as a type of Burmese warriors, profoundly ignorant of the outer world, and yet gifted with a barbarous intelligence which excites our wonder.

The Burmese monarch was about forty-five years of age, and nearly six feet in height. He was hale, sturdy, and dark complexioned, but rude in his manners, and hasty and vain-glorious in his temper. He received the first envoy with great dignity, and entertained him with a considerable amount of braggadocio. He was very angry at an offer made by the East India Company to help him against his enemies. He declared that he wanted no help, no muskets, and no cannon. He boasted that he had conquered Pegu with bludgeons. He had carried off some princesses from Munipúr as his prisoners. He was devoid of that gallantry which generally distinguishes civilised Orientals in their dealings with female captives of any rank, and he actually obliged the unfortunate women to

* Captain Robert Baker, the commander of an East Indiaman.

† Ensign Lester, one of the officers attached to the settlement at Negrais.

come forth and show themselves to the foreign ambassadors.

The second envoy sent to Alompra, in 1757, found him less boasting, but brimming with curiosity. The conquerer considered himself above every potentate on earth; but still he was anxious to know something of the habits and ways of other sovereigns. Accordingly he asked endless questions: "Does your King go to the wars and expose himself to danger, as I do? Could you fire a cannon and kill a man at a great distance? Is there as much rain in England as there is in Burma? Why do you wear that thing (a shoulder knot) on your shoulder? How much money does the Company pay you a month? Why do not the English tattoo their bodies and thighs as we Burmese do? Is there any ice in your country? Are the small creeks ever frozen over as they are here?"

The envoy answered the questions as he best could. As regards the freezing process, he stated that he had seen the river Thames frozen over, and an ox roasted whole upon the ice. This statement was received by the king and his great men with a roar of laughter; but whether they were only tickled with the story, or disbelieved it altogether, was not known.

The middle of the eighteenth century was charac-

terised by a revolution in English affairs in Burma as well as in India. In India the merchant traders were becoming sovereign princes. In the south, the English at Madras had got the better of their French rivals at Pondicherry. They had espoused the cause of a new Nawab of the Carnatic, and effectually suppressed all his enemies. In Bengal, they had suffered a terrible reverse. The capture of Calcutta and massacre of the Black Hole seemed for awhile to have ruined their interests in India. The victory of Clive at Plassey, the destruction of the Nawab of Moorsherabad, and the setting up of a new dynasty of Nawabs, who were destined to be the mere puppets of the English, had not only restored the prestige of the East India Company, but convinced native princes that the English were a powerful and dangerous people.

News of these events in Bengal soon reached Alompra, and he began to regard the English with suspicion and alarm. He had reason to suspect that they had secretly helped the people of Pegu. His fears were worked upon by French and Armenian adventurers, who had found their way to his court. Meantime, the English force in the island of Negrais had been called away to Bengal. It was insidiously whispered into the ears of Alompra, that now was the time to get rid of the English altogether. The result was another tragedy, not unlike

that of the Black Hole, though on a smaller scale. The English in the island of Negrais were surprised, overpowered, and massacred.* The settlement was destroyed; and the intelligence reached Calcutta at a time when it was impossible to think of revenge.

The factory was not attempted to be re-established, and diplomatic intercourse appears to have ceased with the Burmese Empire until 1795, when Colonel Symes was sent to Burma as ambassador from Sir John Shore, the Governor-General of India. Colonel Symes has published a narrative of his mission. His object was to establish friendly relations with the King of Burma, who, since his conquest of Arakan in 1783, had been making threatening demonstrations on the Bengal frontier. The King and his officials, however, were suspicious of his motives, and treated all his advances with insolence and contempt.

This was partly owing, it is said, to French intrigue; but was doubtless more especially due to the jealousy of Portuguese half-castes, Armenians, and other Asiatic merchants, who had then most of

* The massacre is said to have been planned by an Armenian named Gregory, and a Frenchman named Lavine, aided by the interpreter of the factory, a Portuguese, and took place on the night of the 6th October, 1759, when the whole of the inhabitants of the settlement, European and native, were put to death, with the exception of one, a young midshipman, who, at the commencement of the attack, swam off to a vessel lying in the river. The ruined brick walls of the factory, as also some small tombstones, are still to be seen on the island of Negrais.

the foreign trade of the country in their hands. They were alarmed, that if Colonel Symes's mission was successful, that it might interfere with their interests. Amongst other mischievous acts, they caused a prophecy to be promulgated to the effect that, within twelve months, the English colours would be flying on the flagstaff at Rangoon.

Colonel Symes spent several months in Burma. He visited Pegu, which the reigning monarch Bhodau-phra was attempting to restore after its destruction by Alompra, and went up the river to Ava and Amarapúra, but he failed to estimate the real character of the Burmese people, whilst he overrated the government and resources of the country. His mission was a complete failure.

There is one incident in Colonel Symes's narrative, which is worthy of note. At Rangoon, he met the Roman Catholic Missionary, Father Sangermano. The father was an Italian priest who had been many years in Burma. In 1795, he had a Portuguese congregation at Rangoon, who had built him a chapel and dwelling-house, and supported him by voluntary contributions. In return, he educated their children and celebrated a daily mass. Father Sangermano was long held in the highest estimation by the natives. The Burmese Viceroy of Pegu treated him with much distinction. The Viceroy's wife often attended his church, especially during the

festivities of the Holy Week. She had long conferences with the father, and it was thought that she would become a Christian, which, however, was not realised.

Subsequently, Sangermano returned to Italy, and died there in 1819. He left a manuscript behind him, entitled a "Description of the Burmese Empire." It was translated into English by Dr. Tandy, and was published at Rome in 1853, under the auspices of the late Cardinal Wiseman. It is the best work which has hitherto appeared in Europe, on the condition of the Burmese Empire under the dynasty of Alompra.

In January, 1797, Captain Hiram Cox* (who had previously acted as British agent at Rangoon, according to a permission granted by the King to Colonel Symes), proceeded to Amarapúra; but after a five months' residence there, and being unable to contend against the arrogance of the court, was recalled by the Indian Government.

Colonel Symes was again despatched in 1822 on a second mission to Ava, which proved even a greater failure than the first. No narrative has been published of this mission.

In 1809 Captain Canning was sent as agent to Rangoon, and shortly after was summoned by the

* A narrative of Captain Hiram Cox's Mission was published in 1821, a short time after his death.

King, of his own accord, to Amarapúra. He was better treated than the two preceding officers, and was enabled to explain the nature of our blockade system, which was then being enforced on the French islands, and which the Indian Government was anxious should be done; but beyond that, he left without producing much impression.

He was again sent to Rangoon in September, 1811, to complain of interference with our trade there; but was almost immediately recalled in consequence of violent encroachments having been made by the Viceroy of Arakan on our frontier district of Chittagong. This was the last mission attempted by the British Government up to the first Burmese war of 1824-26.

At the conclusion of the war in 1826, and shortly after the treaty of peace was signed at Yandabo, Mr. John Crawfurd was sent by Lord Amherst, the Governor-General of India, as an ambassador to the court of Ava for the purpose of concluding a treaty of friendship with the King. Mr. Crawfurd subsequently published the journal of his mission, together with his own observations on the nature of the Burmese government, and condition of the people at large. Mr. Crawfurd added much to the stock of information already on hand. He showed that the Burmese assumptions of greatness and grandeur were utterly unreal. He put an end to

the wild exaggerations which had been entertained in Europe as to the strength and resources of the Burmese Empire. But he found great difficulty in contending against the pretensions of the court of Ava. Notwithstanding the utter defeat which the Burmese had experienced, they were puffed up with the same idea of lofty superiority which inspired the court historiographer. Indeed, the English ambassador found them nearly as grasping and vainglorious as they had been before the beginning of the war.

Mr. Crawfurd divided the people of Burma, Talaings as well as Burmese, into classes, namely: (1) the royal family; (2) the public officers; (3) the priesthood; (4) the merchants, or "rich men"; (5) the cultivators and labourers; (6) the slaves; (7) the outcasts. This division has no historical significance like the division of the people of India into seven castes by the Greek ambassador, Megasthenes.* It is simply a convenient distribution, under which the various classes of the people can be best described.

Mr. Crawfurd's notices of different members of the royal family are interesting in themselves, and

* Strabo, India as described in sects, 39, 40, 41, 46, 47, 50, 51, 52, and 59. The same division into castes is given by Diodorus Siculus and Arrian, who, as well as Strabo, derived their information from Megasthenes. Pliny ("Nat. Hist." vi. 19), however, gives four divisions only, which is correct, namely, Brahmans, Kshatryas, Vaisyas, and Sudras. Megasthenes evidently separated into distinct classes, individuals belonging to the same class.

typical of Burmese sovereignty. The reigning King was Phagyi-dau, the husband of the "sorceress." The English ambassador gives an interesting account of his first introduction to the happy pair.

Phagyi-dau received the Mission in the hall of audience. This hall was built of wood; it was supported by pillars, and decorated with carvings. The lower parts of the pillars were painted a bright red; the rest of the hall, including the walls and carvings, was a blaze of gilding. The throne was in the centre, at the back. Over it was a canopy, richly gilt and carved. The approach of Phagyi-dau was announced by the sound of music. A sliding-door behind the throne opened with a quick and sharp noise. Phagyi-dau ascended the throne up a flight of steps from behind. He seemed to totter under the load of dress and ornaments. He wore a tunic of gold tissue, ornamented with jewels. His crown was a helmet with a high peak, not unlike the spire of a Burman pagoda. The queen, *i.e.*, the "sorceress," presented herself immediately after his majesty; she seated herself on the throne at his right hand. Her dress was like that of the King, but her crown was of a different form.

Phagyi-dau was a short, active man, about forty-three years of age. He was lively and affable; sometimes he was too familiar. He would pinch the ears of a favourite courtier, or slap him on the

face. He had been sorely troubled by the successes of the English during the war. He bitterly repented having provoked them to hostilities. During the British advance up the river Irawadi, he is said to have complained that he had taken hold of a tiger's tail; that it was equally dangerous to continue to hold it or to let it go.

The queen was two years older than her husband. She was not handsome; consequently her influence over him was ascribed to sorcery. She was of low origin; her father was a gaoler. She had been a concubine of Phagyi-dau before he came to the throne, and was said to be avaricious, vindictive, intriguing, and bigoted. She made the King believe that she had been his chief queen in a previous state of existence, but having committed some slight sin had been punished by being born again in a low family. She had no sons, and only one daughter, of five or six years of age.

Some days after the audience with the King and Queen, Mr. Crawfurd and his suite called on three other members of the royal family, namely,—Sakya-meng, the son and heir apparent of Phagyi-dau; Tharawadi, the brother of Phagyi-dau; and Meng-that-gyee, the brother of the "sorceress."

Sakya-meng was only a boy of fourteen. He was the son of Phagyi-dau by his first queen and lawful wife. His mother had died of jealousy and

mortification after the elevation of the "sorceress." He received his English visitors with as much dignity as he could assume; but he was evidently greatly agitated. He was kept under by the "sorceress;" but it was understood that he was to marry her daughter. Such marriage between a brother and a half-sister was customary in the house of Alompra.

Tharawadi was about forty years of age. Crawfurd describes him as cheerful and pleasing; his character changed afterwards. He received his English visitors with much frankness, and conversed with them on indifferent topics. Before the war, Tharawadi shared the opinion of Burmese generally, that it would be easy to conquer Bengal. Mr. Judson, the American missionary, says that he often spoke to the following effect:*—"the English are the inhabitants of a small and remote island. What business have they to come in ships from so great a distance to dethrone kings, and take possession of countries they have no right to? They contrive to conquer and govern the black strangers with caste (*i.e.* Hindùs), who have puny frames and no courage. They have never yet fought with so strong and brave a people as the Burmese, skilled in the use of the sword and spear. If they once fight with us, and we have an opportunity of manifesting our bravery, it will be an example to the

* "Crawfurd," vol. ii., supplement.

black nations who are now slaves to the English, and encourage them to throw off their yoke."

Subsequently Tharawadi changed his tone. He declared that the English fought too "roughly" for the Burmese. He warned Bŭndúla that the European soldiers at Rangoon belonged to a different class from the Sepoys, who had been repulsed on the Arakan frontier. When he heard that Bŭndúla had fled from Rangoon to Donabew, he laughed and clapped his hands; he said,—"I told Bŭndúla how it would be."

Meng-tha-gyee,* the brother of the "sorceress," belonged to a low type. His appearance was against him. He lived in great state, but was evidently of vulgar origin. Before the elevation of his sister, he had gained his living by selling fish in the bazaar. Since then he had shared in her prosperity. He exercised unbounded power in the state, and was supposed to have hoarded vast wealth. He was said to have committed many acts of oppression and cruelty. He tortured and murdered those who offended him without mercy. Mr. Crawfurd concluded a short supplementary commercial treaty with Burma. But it proved of little value.

In accordance with the 4th article of the treaty of peace signed at Yandabo, Major Burney was

* His miserable end, and that of his sister, has been described in a preceding chapter.

deputed as Resident at Ava in 1830, and where he remained until 1837. He was a very able officer, and obtained some personal influence over the King and his ministers; but was always looked upon with suspicion as a spy. In April 1837, Phagyi-dau was dethroned by his brother Tharawadi, and fearing, from the well-known character of the new King, that some insult might be committed, which would lead to a collision between the two Governments, together with his health failing him at the same time, he withdrew from the capital and proceeded to Calcutta.

In 1838 Colonel Benson was sent as Resident to Ava, but was never even received by the King. He returned after six months' residence, leaving his assistant, Captain Macleod, in charge, and who shortly left also for Rangoon, on the plea of ill-health. * He resided at Rangoon until the commencement of 1840, when the British Residency was finally withdrawn from Burmese territory, and no further intercourse took place between the British and Burmese Governments, until Commodore Lambert was sent by Lord Dalhousie, in 1852, to demand reparation for the confinement in the stocks of the master of a British vessel, by the Viceroy of Rangoon, and which brought on the second Burmese war.

* King Tharawadi is said to have been much amused at the success of his efforts to extinguish the Residency, and thought it an especially good joke that the Residents somehow always got ill. - Yule's "Mission to Ava," p 227.

The second Burmese war of 1852–53 was more effective than that of 1824–26; but was unfortunately brought to a premature close. On neither occasion did we take due advantage of our conquest. In 1826, and again in 1853, it would have been an easy task to have reduced the King of Burma to the condition of a feudatory prince, maintained by a subsidiary alliance, like the Princes of India. Of late years the British Government seems to have awakened to a sense of their omission. They have striven to obtain by diplomacy in time of peace, the commanding attitude of a paramount power in upper Burma, which could only have been legitimately obtained by force of arms.

The present state of political relations with Burma has no connection whatever with the old diplomacy of the eighteenth century. It belongs to an entirely new era; it has grown out of the second Burmese war, and is in fact the result of that war. It has already been explained that in 1853 the King of Burma refused to sign any treaty, and that Lord Dalhousie fixed the boundaries of British Burma without exacting any treaty. He declared that a treaty with such a potentate would be utterly worthless. Accordingly he ignored the King, and annexed the valuable province of Pegu; the result was, that the empire of Burma, which had once commanded the greater part of the eastern coast of the Bay of

Bengal, was reduced to the condition of an inland power, and shut up in the upper valley of the river Irawadi.

The King of Burma soon grew weary of his isolation. At the same time he must have keenly felt the loss of Pegu. He had derived a larger revenue from Pegu, including the duties levied at the seaports of Rangoon and Bassein, than from any other province in his kingdom. The loss must also have been bitterly felt by all the "eaters of the revenue" of the Pegu townships. Accordingly, the recovery of Pegu became a passion with the Burmese court. King and ministers pondered over the question night and day,—war was, of course, out of the question. Every Burmese warrior in the kingdom had been thrown into mortal terror by the reports, more or less exaggerated, of the "bomb balls" of Commodore Lambert; and not a soul could be found who would venture to suggest a renewal of hostilities. At last it was resolved to work upon the generosity of the British Government.

In the beginning of 1855, about eighteen months after the conclusion of the war, a complimentary mission arrived at Calcutta from the King of Burma. The Burmese envoys brought presents for the Governor-General, and preferred the modest request that the province of Pegu might be restored to their royal master.

The Burmese mission was well received at Calcutta. Lord Dalhousie was anxious to establish friendly relations with the King of Burma, and to open out a new trade up the valley of the Irawadi into the far interior. Few men, however, knew Asiatics better than Lord Dalhousie. He treated the request for the restoration of Pegu as utterly preposterous; as altogether out of the pale of diplomacy. He pointed emphatically to the sun. He said:—"So long as that sun shines in the heavens, so long will the British flag wave over Pegu." The decision was final. The envoys saw that the Governor-General was not to be moved; and went back to Ava to make what excuses they could for the failure of their mission.

Before the Burmese envoys left Calcutta, Lord Dalhousie promised that the complimentary mission should be returned. Accordingly, in the following August, the present Major-General, Sir Arthur Phayre, (at that time Colonel Phayre) proceeded up the river Irawadi to the city of Amarapúra, which was then the capital of the King of Burma. He was accompanied by a considerable suite, including Captain, now Colonel Henry Yule, C.B., of the Bengal Engineers, who acted as secretary to the mission.* The main object of the mission was

* Colonel Yule subsequently published a very interesting "Narrative of the Mission," in a splendid quarto volume, abounding in illustrations.

not only to establish friendly relations, but to make another attempt to conclude a definite treaty with the King; and this fact was broadly stated at the first audience.

The King objected to any treaty which would recognise the loss of Pegu; but he was prepared to enter into any arrangement which would benefit himself. He said to the envoy, with charming frankness,—"If a treaty is made, there must be mutual advantage;" and he requested to be informed in what way the treaty would benefit him. The envoy replied, that without a treaty no gunpowder or warlike stores would be permitted to pass up the river Irawadi; but that if a treaty were concluded, a confidence would be established according to western ideas, and commodities of all descriptions would be permitted to pass.* The King refused to sign a treaty; but friendly relations were established. Indeed it was evident that the King, who was by no means wanting in shrewdness, was beginning to perceive that his interests were now bound up with those of the British Empire.

Seven years passed away. The capital of Upper Burma was transferred from Amarapúra to Mandalay,† according to the nomadic usages of Mongol

* Yule's "Narrative of the Mission to the Court of Ava," pp. 97, 98.

† It took this name from the hill so called, which stands at the north-east corner of the new city.

princes. The King was slowly and cautiously evincing further anxiety to cultivate the friendship of the English. In 1862 the three divisions of Arakan, Pegu, and Tenasserim were amalgamated and consolidated into the province of British Burma. Each division had its own commissioner as before, with an establishment of deputy and assistant commissioners; but Colonel Phayre was appointed *de facto* governor of the whole, under the name of Chief Commissioner. These changes excited deep interest at the Burmese court; and in the latter part of the year Colonel Phayre proceeded again to Mandalay in the hope of concluding a treaty of commerce and friendship with the King.

The main object in view was the abolition or reduction of the frontier duties, for the purpose of opening out a new trade with Upper Burma, and if possible with the countries beyond. The British Government agreed to abolish the duties on their side of the frontier within a year. In return the Burmese Government agreed to do the same, if so inclined, within two, three, or four years. This was a one-sided arrangement, but it was considered necessary to educate the Burmese in the principles of free trade.

Accordingly, the treaty of 1862 was concluded on this basis. Some solid advantages were also promised

under the treaty. British subjects were granted full permission to trade in any part of His Majesty's dominions; and a representative of the British Government was to reside at Mandalay to smooth down all difficulties, and remove all misunderstandings that might arise.

The working of the treaty of 1862 was not satisfactory; it can scarcely be said to have worked at all. The British Government abolished the duties on their side of the frontier. The Burmese Government did nothing whatever. The King had been glad to dismiss the English envoy, in the hope of some day abolishing the duties. In like manner he dismissed the English representative at Mandalay: he was only waiting for further reports; the ministers were to blame; he would take an early opportunity of settling the question. In this way three or four years slipped by, and in 1866 the frontier duties were still levied by the Burmese authorities. The British merchants at Rangoon, as can be readily understood, were exasperated at the delay.

All this while there was a still more formidable obstacle to all attempts to open out a trade in Upper Burma. Nearly every article of produce in Upper Burma was a royal monopoly. No Burmese subject could sell grain, timber, cutch, or other commodities, excepting through royal brokers, or express

permission of the local authorities. Other difficulties also sprung up, which might have led to serious consequences.

The King was well disposed towards the English; but his officials were imbued with the old arrogance towards foreigners, which two disastrous wars had failed to remove. Two British officers, who had been sent into the interior to explore the upper course of the Salween river, were stopped and sent back by the Burmese authorities, in direct violation of the treaty. Obstacles were thrown in the way of any attempt to explore the upper valley of the Irawadi, in the direction of Bhamo. Above all, an English gentleman, wearing European costume, was insolently beaten in the streets of Mandalay for refusing to sit, or kneel, whilst a Burmese official, of no particular rank, was passing by. These complications were, somehow, explained away.

In 1866 another mission was determined upon, but before it could start, an insurrection broke out in Upper Burma, which seemed likely to lead to a revolution at the Court of Mandalay.

Although the dynasty of Alompra has been maintained for more than a century, the kingdom has been constantly exposed to palace revolutions. Not unfrequently a reigning king has been suddenly deposed, and another sovereign set up in his stead. Instances have already been narrated of similar out-

breaks in connection with the reigns of Phagya-dau, Tharawadi, and the present King. The attempted revolution of 1866 was of this type. The King had favoured his brother, the Kanoung-Meng (who had assisted to place him on the throne), at the expense of his sons. He had appointed his brother to be Ieng-shé-meng,* or Crown Prince. He had placed his sons, since they came of age, entirely under the control of the Crown Prince. His sons complained of the harsh treatment and tyranny of their uncle. Two of them formed a conspiracy against him. The King had left the palace in the city of Mandalay, and gone out to a summer palace about three miles off.

On the 2nd of August, 1866, when the Won-gyees and other high officials, with the Crown Prince as President, were assembled holding council in the temporary Hlwot-dau situated close to the gates of the palace, the two princes suddenly rushed in with about thirty armed followers. The Crown Prince and one of the ministers were killed on the spot. Two other princes, who stood next in succession after the Crown Prince, were also slain.

So rapid was the slaughter in the Hlwot-dau, and so great the panic and consternation caused by this

* This title signifies "Lord of the Eastern Palace." Shé means also "to be before" as well as east. Burmese, in speaking of their country, often call it Ashé-pyee, the Eastern Country, or the country before, or superior to all others.

sudden and unexpected attack, that before the palace gates could be closed, the rebel princes and their followers had made good their entry into the interior enclosure of the palace. The King, warned fortunately, however, by one of the queens, who had been alarmed by the noise, succeeded in effecting his escape on foot to the palace within the city. The summer palace was given up to plunder, but the rebel princes, on discovering the King's escape, withdrew their men in pursuit of the King, and reached the city palace only a few minutes after his arrival. They besieged the city palace until the following morning, when they were driven off by a strong detachment of the late Crown Prince's troops.

Captain Sladen, the British representative at Mandalay, was in the summer palace at the time the outbreak occurred. Of course, it was impossible for him, or for anyone else, to foretell the result. He escaped with his life from the infuriated rebels, and made his way to the British Residency. There he found a crowd of Burmese and others in the Residency compound; it was evident that during the insurrection the Burmese considered themselves more secure on the premises of the British representative, than in their own houses.

Captain Sladen remained at Mandalay for seven days after the commencement of the outbreak; but great anarchy and disorganization still prevailing,

and being informed by the King that he could not guarantee either the safety of the lives or the property of the European residents, he embarked with nearly the whole of them, with such property as they could hastily gather together, on board a British merchant steamer, then fortunately lying off Mandalay, and proceeded down the Irawadi to Rangoon, which was reached without opposition. This steamer, I must observe, the King had been employing against the rebels, contrary to the wishes of the British Resident, and it required some considerable tact and caution on the part of Captain Sladen to regain possession of her without bringing on an actual collision with the King's troops.

The insurrection was suppressed; but the rebel princes having seized one of the King's steamers, escaped down the river Irawadi into British territory. Colonel Phayre took the necessary steps for preventing them from committing further mischief; and they were required to reside at Rangoon, under the surveillance of the British authorities. This step relieved the King of all further danger. So long as the rebel princes were kept in British territory, his life and throne were secure, as far as they were concerned. It was consequently assumed, that his Majesty would feel something like gratitude for the moral support and friendly feeling which the Chief Commissioners of British Burma, had shown

to him during the rebellion; at any rate, that he would have been satisfied that the British Government was sincere in its professions of friendship.

Accordingly, about the end of 1866, when the King's authority was fully re-established, Colonel Phayre proceeded on another mission to Mandalay; but he was disappointed in all his expectations. The King, on the plea that the country was too unsettled and impoverished, after the late troubles, for the introduction of changes, and other reasons, refused to reduce his frontier duties, or to forego any one of his monopolies. All negotiations were therefore abruptly broken off, and the old duties on the British side of the frontier recommended to be re-imposed. The Secretary of State, however, overruled this suggestion. Indeed, if the measure had been carried out, it would only have irritated the King, and rendered him more obstinate than ever.

At this crisis, namely, in March, 1867, I succeeded to the Chief Commissionership. I at once applied myself to the task of overcoming the existing difficulties; and I found an able coadjutor in Captain Sladen. In the following May, the King had begun to come round. His Majesty issued proclamations abolishing some of his monopolies, and reducing the frontier duties; but it was doubtful how far he was in earnest; there was reason to fear that the proclamations were only a blind, and might be with-

drawn at any moment. At this juncture I had information of another conspiracy at Mandalay; and as the story is illustrative of the doings of the Burmese Court, I shall tell it with more detail.

When the Crown Prince was slain in the summer palace, his eldest son, known as the Pudyne prince, escaped the massacre, and fled to the remote north, where he was joined by a large body of his father's adherents, and others favourable to his cause, and prepared for war. Had the King been killed, there would probably have been a bloody struggle for the succession between the Pudyne prince and the sons of the King. On the news, however, reaching the Pudyne prince, of the King being alive, the total failure of the rebellion, and that the rebel princes were captives in Rangoon, he at once surrendered himself, without resistance, to the royal forces which had been sent against him, and was imprisoned in the palace enclosure, together with several of his younger brothers.

Suddenly, it was found out, that a sister of the Pudyne prince had bribed the palace officials and gained admittance to her brothers. The discovery filled the King with suspicious fears. The attendants of the prisoners, and the princess herself, were beaten and tortured into a confession, that a plot was being hatched for setting the palace on fire, and liberating the prisoners. It was expected that the

catastrophe would have a bloody ending; but on the 15th of May, Captain Sladen was told, on good authority, that the matter had blown over, and that nothing further would be done. Within an hour afterwards he heard that all the prisoners had been ordered for execution. He hastened to the palace to attempt to save their lives.

On the way he met the procession going to the place of execution. There was a strong guard of soldiers; a crowd of executioners, more or less intoxicated, carrying large naked swords; a body of assistants carrying red velvet sacks, for the reception of the bodies, of the Princes of the Blood who were to be executed.* Captain Sladen rode to the palace, and persuaded the King to recall the execution party. Captain Sladen galloped off with the reprieve, but was too late to save all the victims. The eldest son of the Crown Prince was already in the agonies of death; his younger brothers would have shared this fate, but for the timely arrival of the English representative. Strangely enough, when the affair was over, the King warmly thanked Captain Sladen for his interference, and declared

* According to Mongolian tradition, it is considered improper to spill the blood of any member of the royal race. Princes of the Blood are executed by a blow, or blows, of a bludgeon inflicted on the back of the neck. The corpse is placed in a red velvet sack, which is fixed between two large perforated jars, and then sunk in the river Irawadi. Princesses are executed, and their bodies treated in a similar manner, with the exception that they are put to death by a blow in front, instead of the back of the neck.

that he was unaware that the execution had been ordered by his own ministers!

This tragedy was merely an episode in Burmese life at the capital. The manner in which the King had taken the interference of Captain Sladen, was accepted as a proof of the friendly relations which were growing up between the British Government and the King of Burma; and his Majesty appeared to show, in a variety of ways, that he was sincere in his desire to form a close and permanent alliance with the Government of India. At this time I had two objects in view. I was, of course, most anxious to open out a trade with upper Burma, both to promote the commercial prosperity of my own province of British Burma, and to bring about a community of interests between Rangoon and Mandalay.

At the same time, I was bent upon arranging with the King for the despatch of an expedition viâ Bhamo into Western China, for the purpose of discovering the cause of the cessation of the trade, formerly existing by this overland route between Burma and China, which had ceased only, so short a time back as 1855 (the commencement of the Mahommedan or Panthay rebellion in Yunan); and ascertaining the exact position held by the hill tribes and Panthays, with reference to that traffic, and their disposition, or otherwise, to resuscitate it; also

to examine the physical condition of the routes. For the present, I shall confine myself to narrating the progress of my treaty negotiations. The expedition to Yunan, will form a portion of a succeeding chapter.

The official narrative of my mission, together with a copy of the treaty I concluded with the King of Burma, will be found in the Appendix * to the second volume. There the reader will find every detail of the voyage to Mandalay, and the several audiences with the King and his ministers. Still, a few general observations may not be out of place in the present chapter, if they only enable the reader to realize the scenes and circumstances.

We left Rangoon on the 20th of September, 1867, and reached Mandalay on the 7th of October. Our party † consisted of eleven gentlemen and two ladies, including the members of the suite, and the officers who commanded the military escort which accompanied the mission. Our voyage was made in two steamers, the *Nemesis* and *Colonel Phayre*, the latter having a large flat or barge in tow.

* Appendix C.

† The following composed the party: the Envoy, Colonel Fytche, Chief Commissioner of British Burma, Captain Duncan, Inspector-General of Police, secretary to the mission, Mr. Edwards, Collector of Customs, Rangoon, the Reverend H. W. Crofton, Chaplain of Rangoon, and the officers of the military escort, viz.: Captain Surplice, Mr. Assistant-Surgeon Douglas, and Lieutenants Younghusband, Williams (acting aide-de-camp), and Randolph, 2-24th Regiment; and Captain Hannen and Lieutenant Rolland, Royal Artillery. Mrs. Fytche and Mrs. Lloyd accompanied the mission.

The river Irawadi is only beginning to be known to western travellers. Many English readers will be surprised to hear that it is a greater river than the Ganges, can be more easily navigated, and flows through regions which are destined to become as important to the world of civilization as the India of the nineteenth century. The voyage up the river, although occasionally impeded by the force of the current, is of a most interesting character to all who delight in new scenes.

In the lower Irawadi the shores are flat and sometimes dreary; but as the voyage progresses the scenery changes and improves. The range of blue mountains may be seen in the distance which separates Pegu from Arakan. Occasionally there are hills sloping down towards the river covered with forests and luxuriant foliage, dotted here and there with Buddhist pagodas and shrines. The quaint river craft, often bearing a strange resemblance to the shipping of the ancients, will not fail to attract notice. Moreover, the observer will be struck with the half-dreamy routine of Oriental life, which meets the eye in all directions. Families are sailing up and down the river in boats, or floating down the stream in crafts, without seeming to have a care in the world; whilst men and buffaloes appear to lead the same lazy and thoughtless round of existence, pursuing their several avocations on the shore.

On the 24th of September, being the fifth day after leaving Rangoon, we reached the frontier. Henceforth there was a marked change at every station at which we stopped. The people in general were meanly attired, and their houses very inferior as compared with those of British Burma. They occasionally presented an anxious and worn expression, although the light-heartedness of the Burmese character often betrayed itself under the most unsatisfactory outward appearance. Official life amongst the Burmese is a different story. Burmese notables are generally decked in their best attire whenever about to meet Europeans; and they have a way of displaying colours in their dress, and gilding and decorations in their surroundings, which is very effective for the moment. Experience, however, soon teaches that there is very little that is substantial in the sight, and that all is mere show and parade.

On the morning after passing the frontier we reached the Burmese town of Menhla. Here we received a deputation of three Burmese notables, who had been sent from Mandalay in four large war boats, resplendent with gilding, to welcome the mission on its arrival in the territories of the King. All three gentlemen were very courtier-like and dignified in their manner One of them had accompanied the Burmese ambassadors, who were

sent to Calcutta in 1855 to ask Lord Dalhousie to restore Pegu. Another had been educated at Calcutta, and spoke English with the utmost fluency.

We of course received the deputation on board in great state. The quarter-deck of the *Nemesis* was decorated with flags. A guard of honour was drawn up on either side. All the English officers were arrayed in uniform. The three Burmese deputies, accompanied by the local officials, appeared in their gayest attire, and took their seats on chairs in the European fashion. The interview passed off to general satisfaction. On shore the day was spent as a public holiday. A Burmese drama, known as a Pooay,* was being performed all day, and indeed all night. We went ashore in the evening and witnessed part of the performance. Our visitors of the morning were all in attendance. Indeed, the Pooay was in reality a State affair, got up expressly for the benefit of the members of the mission.

Next morning we resumed our voyage. The Burmese deputies were now joined by so many officials that the war boats which accompanied us were increased to eight in number, each having a crew of forty men. The chief official had also a large barge, which was taken in tow by the *Nemesis*. It would be needless to describe the various places at which we stopped on our voyage.

* A description of the Burmese Pooay or drama is given in Chap. VIII.

Towns and villages were all of one type. Groups of wooden houses, with Buddhist pagodas towering amongst them, and often surrounded by a wooden stockade. At every place the mission was welcomed with every mark of respect; with presents of fruit and vegetables, and the inevitable Pooay. One of the royal steamers came down from Mandalay to meet us, and several processions of boats; all of which turned round and accompanied us to the capital.

At last, on the morning of the 7th of October, we approached Mandalay, passing the old capitals of Tsagain on the right, and Ava and Amarapoora on the left bank; the two former being opposite to each other, and the latter two, five miles apart. Tsagain is still a flourishing town; but Ava the capital of the kingdom for nearly four hundred years —from 1400 to 1783—as well as Amarapúra, the late capital, and only abandoned in 1860, are almost entirely deserted, and their sites overgrown with jungle. The Irawadi opposite Tsagain alters its course. Flowing from the north it is diverted by a bold promontory to the westward, and forms numerous islands. The scenery here is most beautiful. The Shan mountains with their lofty irregular outline forming a fine background to the well-wooded and well-watered plains on the left bank; while the small serrated ridges of the Tsagain hills,

crowned with monasteries and pagodas towering over the town of Tsagain, embowered in its mango and tamarind groves, bound the view most picturesquely on the right. While looking up the stream, the different spurs and well-wooded little hills running from these ranges close to the windings of the great river, give the appearance as if they were rising out of its bosom; the whole forming a *coup d'œil* not surpassed, perhaps, by any lake or river scenery in the world.

Mandalay is about seven miles above Amarapúra, and on arriving off the landing-place, we found a guard of royal troops drawn up on the shore, arrayed in the quaint Burmese uniform of green jackets, striped hilts, and red helmets. It was arranged that on the morrow we were to receive a visit from the ministers; and on the day after to make a public landing at Mandalay. Meantime it was hoped that the King would notify an early day on which to give an audience to the envoy.

I need not particularise these proceedings; the details, as I have said before, will be found in the official narrative. But there are many particulars which would have been out of place in an official narrative, which may perhaps possess an interest to those who have had no personal experience of Asiatic courts.

The pleasure taken in form and ceremony is

common perhaps to all courts, European and Asiatic; but it is a passion with Mongols, and especially so with the dynasty of Alompra. It is the main support of that extravagant adulation of the reigning Sovereign, which is the foundation of Mongol despotism. During my mission these displays were on a grander scale than usual; for the King of Burma was anxious to dazzle the British envoy with pomp and show, and at the same time to familiarise his people with the idea of the great friendship which was henceforth to subsist between the Court of Mandalay and the British Government.

The visit of a deputation of ministers to the English steamers was a formal affair; but in a very short time all formalities were forgotten. The deputation came on board with a large following of secretaries and minor officials, and for a brief period behaved with gravity and maintained a stately bearing. Nothing whatever was said about the Mission or its objects, but many questions were asked respecting our voyage, and how far we had enjoyed it. After a while the party began to disperse over the ship, and the conversation degenerated into gossip. What were the dimensions of the *Nemesis?* How fast could she go if she put on all her steam? Could she go out to sea without fear of being swamped by the waves?

What was the name and official position of each member of the Mission? This last question involved a considerable amount of hard work, not on our part, but on the part of our visitors.

It was easy enough for us to reply to the question as regards each individual; but it was a tough task for the members of the deputation to learn every answer by heart. It was necessary, however, that they should carry away the lesson in their memories; for it was certain that they would be subjected to a minute examination when they returned to the palace. At the same time they were anxious to avoid suspicions by a too frequent repetition of the questions. Accordingly it was easy to perceive that they often endeavoured to correct or perfect their knowledge, by comparing amongst themselves those details which they had been able to collect in their individual memories.

The landing on the following morning was effected in great state. The procession from the landing-place to the British Residency, a distance of about three miles and a half, was to be performed on elephants. On this point the chief Queen had been kind and considerate as regards Mrs. Fytche. Her Majesty sent a present of a handsome gilded litter with men in the royal livery to carry it, and on which the foreign lady could be conveyed in suitable state and comfort. The King

sent me two golden umbrellas,* and also the same number to my wife, accompanied with royal warrants or tablets of authority, entitling us to use them.

This was a token of high favour and honour, as only Princes of the Blood are allowed to use golden umbrellas at the capital, and was a good augury for the success of the Mission. The van of the procession was formed by a body of the royal troops dressed in the national uniform. Then Mrs. Fytche was carried in her golden litter, followed by

* The white umbrella is the emblem of sovereignty in Burma, and its use is limited to the King, and to being placed over the images of Gautama. The King is never supposed to move without an attendant holding over his head the distinguishing mark of royalty, and veiling the golden face with its shadow.

Colonel Yule remarks in the "Book of Ser Marco Polo," vol. i., pp. 310 and 317, that "an honorary character appears to have attached to umbrellas in the East from a very remote period. Carpini notices that umbrellas (solinum vel tentoriolum in hastâ) were carried over the Tartar nobles and their wives, even on horseback; and a splendid one, covered with jewels, was one of the presents made to Kuijuk Kaan on his enthronement." "Adrian speaks of the σκιάδια, or umbrellas, as used by all Indians of any consideration. Pallium, according to Muratori, was applied in the Middle Ages to a kind of square umbrella, but by that is probably meant rather a canopy of four staves, which was sometimes assigned by authority as an honourable privilege. Ducange quotes, from a MS. of the Paris library, the Byzantine court regulations about umbrellas, which are of the genuine Pan-Asiatic spirit, σκιάδια χρυσοκοκκινα extend from the Hypersebastus to the Grand Stratopedarchus, and so on. And yet it is curious that John Marignolli, Ibn Batuta's contemporary in the middle of the fourteenth century, and Barbosa in the sixteenth century, are alike at pains to describe the umbrella as some strange object. And in our own country it is commonly stated that the umbrella was first used in the last century, and that Jonas Hanway (died 1786) was one of the first persons who made a practice of carrying one. The fact that the gold umbrella is one of the paraphernalia of high church dignitaries of the Romish Church in Italy, seems to presume acquaintance with the thing from a remote and, perhaps, Buddhistic period."

a Burmese official of high rank seated on an elephant. Then the envoy and members of the Mission all mounted on elephants arranged according to a regular programme. The procession closed with the escort of English troops on foot.

About half way between the river Irawadi and the Residency there was a creek which had to be crossed in boats. Here we were met by another procession, which turned back and joined us. They were accompanied by about five hundred Burmese cavalry and at least three thousand Burmese infantry. The cavalry were armed with swords and spears, and dressed in red jackets and trousers; and some of them wore a gilt helmet with side pieces and embroidered jerkin. The infantry were dressed in the ordinary white jacket worn by the general population, and armed with muskets. At last, after traversing a broad and clean street, lined with tamarind trees, we reached the Residency, heartily glad to be out of the show and glare.

It was of some importance from a diplomatic point of view that the Mission should be received as soon as possible after its arrival. On previous occasions it had been the ostentatious custom of the Burmese sovereign to keep a Mission waiting for several days under a variety of excuses, as an assertion of his Majesty's superior power and dignity. The story has already been given of a

Portuguese envoy in the seventeenth century, who was kept waiting for weeks, and then was only granted a sham audience at midnight. English ambassadors before and after the first Burmese war had encountered considerable insolences on this point.

My public reception by his Majesty took place the second day after my landing—unusually quick. This was the more fortunate as the four days which followed the one fixed for the audience, were occupied by a festival, during which his Majesty was propitiated by presents from his subjects and officials to avert punishment for any faults committed, or neglect of duty. They were known as *kodau* * or "beg pardon days;" and it would have been obviously incorrect for the envoy to have appeared in the character of a suppliant begging for forgiveness. As it was, the arrangement for my obtaining an audience was particularly gratifying.

The procession from the Residency to the Palace was much the same as that formed at the landing, excepting that there were no ladies present. The palace† enclosure was surrounded in the first instance by a wooden stockade, and afterwards, at intervals of

* This ceremony of Ko-dau is evidently taken from the Chinese, or rather Mongol one of Kow-tow (Khéu-théu). The gifts are accompanied with very similar ceremonies, and with the same number of prostrations.

† For a full description of the palace and city, see concluding pages of this chapter.

about a hundred feet, by two massive brick walls, one within the other. Altogether it reminded us of the descriptions which have been preserved of the ancient cities of India. The palace itself, with its walls, towers and pinnacles, exhibited a profusion of carving and gilding, but is like nothing that has been seen or described elsewhere. We were led through the principal hall of audience into another open hall, supported by pillars of white chunam, which again reminded us of the great hall of marble pillars which is still to be seen in the palace of the Moghul Emperors at Delhi. On one side, before a golden folding-door, was placed a couch for his Majesty. We all sat down in front of the couch. Presently the King made his appearance up a vista of gilded doors, and took his seat, and the audience began.

The details of this audience, and of the audiences which followed, will be found in the official narrative in the Appendix. I need only draw attention to the treaty* of 1867, which was concluded after some lengthy negotiations. It will show the advance which was made in the progress of the Mission towards establishing a thorough understanding with

* The great advantages of this treaty, in a mercantile point of view, are shown in the large increase of our exports to Upper Burma. The transaction in treaty goods, or goods entered through the Rangoon Custom House for direct exportation to Upper Burma was, in 1868-69, the year the treaty came in force, Rs. 524,378; and in 1869-70, the year I left Burma, had increased to Rs. 1,401,612, or 167 per cent.

the King. It should be borne in mind that only a year previously the King had refused to conclude any further treaty with the British Government. On the present occasion I made no more concessions than had been offered by Colonel Phayre; yet I succeeded in obtaining the King's consent to every point that could have reasonably been expected or desired by the government of India. The King abandoned all his monopolies, excepting earth oil, timber and precious stones. The duties on all goods and merchandise passing between British and Burmese territories were reduced to a uniform rate of five per cent. *ad valorem*. A Resident or Political Agent was to be always posted at Mandalay. He was invested with full and final jurisdiction in all civil suits between British subjects. He was also associated with a Burmese official of high rank in a mixed court, which dealt with all civil cases arising between Burmese and British subjects. Rules were also laid down for the extradition of criminals on either side.

Three days after my public reception by the King, the Queen Nama-dau-phura gave my wife a reception. The King was present, and the same ceremonies were gone through as in my own case. How different from the customs prevailing in India! Her account of the Queen's "Drawing room" is a very amusing one.

The official narrative of my mission to Mandalay comprises reports of the conversations which passed between the King and myself during the several interviews. They are useful, because they bring out his Majesty's personal character. At the first audience he talked about my voyage; the existing friendship between the two governments; the reception I had received in my passage through his Majesty's dominions; the rapid growth of the new capital at Mandalay; and the house which had been built in the Residency compound for the accommodation of the Mission. On this occasion I was decorated with the Burmese order of the Tsalwé* of the first grade, as a visible token of his Majesty's desire to do me honour.

At the second audience he began to talk Buddhism; bringing it to bear upon the diplomatic negotiations which were going on. He spoke of friendship based upon mutual advantage; of the way in which such friendship might be destroyed by listening to the idle stories of evil-minded men. He said that false reports had reached him regarding myself; and was thus evidently seeking to guard against any bad

* This is the badge of the order of nobility among the Burmese, and consists of six classes, distinguished by the number of gold chains, united by bosses, that compose the order. Three chains of fine open work is the lowest; three of twisted gold chain the next; then six, nine, and twelve, the latter being the highest grade, with the exception of the one worn only by his Majesty, and which consists of twenty-four chains. The order is worn depending from the left shoulder across the breast, and back under the right arm.

rumours of his internal administration or political intentions, which might have reached my ears. In like manner he referred to the first duty of Kings, which consists, according to Buddhist ideas, in maintaining the most perfect control under all provocations. He expressed a wish that I should see his hospitals* for the sick and aged; and then he tendered me a share of his good works.

This gift is perfectly intelligible to Hindus as well as Buddhists, though it may be foreign to western ideas. Under the doctrine of merits, one man may transfer to another a share of his good works; that is, a share of the happiness by which good works are rewarded. I made no reply to the tender of his merits, beyond referring to the Christian idea of charity to the poor; and I soon turned the conversation to the proposed expedition by way of Bhamo into China. His Majesty sanctioned the expedition without raising the slightest objection, and promised to promote the objects in view to the utmost of his power. The commercial advantages

* Charity is considered among Buddhists a great "Koung-hmo," or good work, from which a reward is to be derived in a future existence. The general establishment of medical aid for men and animals is alluded to in the edicts of Asoka; and hospitals for the diseased and destitute were found by Fahian at Palibothra. The Archbishop of Soltania bears like testimony to the charities of the Great Khan of Tartary; and Friar Jordanus had also heard of his unexampled almsgiving. Various examples of a charitable spirit in Chinese institutions will be found in a letter by Père d'Entrecolles in the "XVth Recueil de Lettres Edifiantes;" and a similar detail in Nevius's "China and the Chinese," ch. xv.; see Prinsep's "Essays," II. 15; Beal's "Fah-hian," 107; "Book of Ser Marco Polo," p. 399.

attendant on the resuscitation of the trade *viâ* Bhamo appeared to be fully appreciated by him, and he quite saw the chance of its being diverted *into other channels* unless some effort was immediately made. Next to the treaty, I considered that this consent and co-operation of the King were the most important concessions which were obtained by the mission to Mandalay.

To all appearance I carried the King with me in all the treaty stipulations. There was no direct opposition offered to any one of the Articles, although naturally there was discussion; and all the communications I had both with his Majesty and the officers of his court, both at official and private interviews were, apparently, of the most cordial and satisfactory character. At our private interviews in the palace gardens, held there, as he remarked, to be quite free from eaves-droppers, the King conversed very familiarly on every topic which presented itself, and was most confidential and unreserved in speaking of the affairs of his country, and without any Oriental fastidiousness, even of his family.

Amongst other matters he mentioned, that since the violent death of his brother the Crown Prince, he had not as yet declared his successor* to the Crown, because he wished to avoid the danger of

* No rules in favour of primogeniture exist among the Burmese. The King may appoint whom he pleases as his successor.

exciting a premature ambition in the young mind of one of his sons; and also, of producing factions among his numerous children, in opposition both to himself and his nominee. He feared, under any circumstances, whether he appointed a successor or not, that on his decease there would be great dissensions among the different claimants to the throne, that disturbances would be caused even in British territory thereby, and that the English government would probably have to interfere, whether they wished to do so or otherwise.

He seemed, or pretended to be, deeply impressed with the evils of polygamy and the Nemesis accompanying it. He instanced the fearful anarchy and civil war previously wrought in his own country by the children of former kings by different mothers scrambling for the inheritance. As he paused for my remarks on the subject of polygamy, I observed that in Europe, and wherever the Christian religion had been adopted, the system of monogamy was practised, and the old Semitic idea of woman being a "vessel* or mere utensil for man's service," had long been banished. He replied that he was aware of it, and was previously acquainted with my ideas in the matter, from a circular which I had lately promulgated in British Burma on a somewhat *similar subject.*

* See Cf. Fairburn's "Studies," p. 279.

There can be no doubt that the King is a firm follower of Buddha. As already stated, he spent many years as a Buddhist monk; but in the beginning of 1853 was suddenly taken from the seclusion of the monastery to sit upon the throne of Burma. From that date he has ceased to lead a life of celibacy; and it is certain that the teachings of Buddha on this point find no expression in the royal harem. But as far as morals are concerned, as something apart from monastic discipline, his Majesty is an exemplary character. He boasts that he has never ordered an execution since his reign began. In reality he leaves the power of life and death in the hands of his ministers; and his piety consists in throwing upon his ministers all the obloquy or demerit which may be attached to a capital sentence.

The King is doubtless one of the most enlightened monarchs that has ever sat on the Burmese throne, and his reign has not been disgraced, like his predecessors, by wanton atrocities, and wild excesses. He is polished in his manner, has considerable knowledge of the affairs of state, and the history and statistics of his own and other countries. In personal character he is amiable and kind, and, according to his light, religious.

The idea which I have always formed of him, and which I still maintain, is that he is a naturally

well-meaning man, brought up in two bad schools, religious and political. The Buddhist religion, with all its artificial and overstrained morality, is nothing more than a system of selfishness. Kindness and benevolence may characterise the actions of Buddhists, but they do not appear to spring out of the spontaneous goodness of the heart, but originate in the hope of a reward exactly proportioned to the merit of the act performed. Thus when the King spoke of the mutual interests of the two states, and the welfare of the two countries, he thought of nothing beyond the profit he might individually gain by the alliance. He asked for arms and steamers, on which point, as he had been informed on several previous occasions by Sir Arthur Phayre, the English government was inclined to be liberal. His only object however was to guard against rebellion. He never thought of the well-being of his subjects, excepting so far as it would promote his own.

The political school in which the King has been educated since his accession to the throne, is perhaps the worst in the world; and he has been debased and corrupted by the absolute power which he is doomed to exercise. The administration of Burma is absolute despotism. The King is under no restraint whatever, saving his voluntary respect for Buddhist rules and precepts; otherwise he is lord

and master of the life and property of every one of his subjects.

His name when a child was Moung-Lwon,* and his title as a Prince, Mengdon-mengtha, derived from a town† and district which were his patrimony. But since his accession to the throne he is known by his royal titles only,‡ it being the Burmese theory that the name of a King is too sacred to be uttered. There is no hereditary rank or title in the kingdom, excepting in the royal family. The King is the "fons et origo" of all honour. The so-called nobles are only officials, appointed or dismissed at his will; and it not unfrequently happens that a man may be in high favour with the King one day,

* Thunder and lightning, which ordinarily precedes rain in the tropics, are supposed by the Burmese to be caused by nats playing in the air and flourishing their spears and other weapons; and it is their custom, when rain is much wanted, for the people from opposite quarters of a town to assemble in the streets, and pull a long rope backwards and forwards, at the same time, uttering loud cries, inviting the nats to come forth and play and produce rain. The rope that is pulled on these occasions is termed *Lwon*. It was during one of these festivals at Amarapúra, that the present King was born, and he was hence named Moung-Lwon.

† This town and district is situated just within our boundary, and, it is said, the king was given to understand by Lord Dalhousie, that if he would sign a treaty of peace, and acknowledge the concession to us of the province of Pegu, the frontier line should be drawn so as not to include his patrimony—but, as already shewn, he "would not listen to the voice of the charmer."

‡ The king's titles are: His most glorious and excellent Majesty, Lord of the Tshaddau, King of Elephants, Master of many white elephants, Lord of the mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber, and the noble serpentine, Sovereign of the empires of Thuna-paranta and Tampadipa, and other great empires and countries, and of all the umbrella-wearing chiefs, the Supporter of Religion, the Sun-descended Monarch, Arbiter of Life, and great King of Righteousness, King of Kings, and Possessor of boundless dominion and Supreme Wisdom.

and in a horrible Burmese dungeon on the next. Any subject, not a slave or an outcast, may aspire to the highest offices in the state. Thus the country and people are entirely at the disposal of the King; and the only check on mal-administration is the fear of insurrection.

But whilst the King is an absolute despot, there are popular forms of government which at some remote period may have exercised a wholesome check upon the sovereign's authority, although they have long since become wholly subservient to his will. He has no Vizier, or prime minister, in the ordinary sense of the word. He has two councils, a public one and a privy one. The public council is known as the Hlwŏt-daū. It is held in a separate building inside the palace enclosure, but outside the palace properly so called. Its officers are four in number, and are known as Won-gyees. Their functions are legislative, executive and judicial. They sometimes act in their individual capacity, and during my mission I had frequent interviews with one or other of them. But they exercise supreme power under the King in their collective capacity. The King used at one time to take his seat as president of the council; sometimes the Crown Prince sat as his representative.

Since the rebellion of 1866 he has been very chary of leaving his palace, and has not, as yet,

appointed another Crown Prince; but his empty chair still remains as symbolical of the royal presence. The Hlwŏt-daŭ is the final court of appeal. Every royal edict or proclamation is issued by the Hlwŏt-daŭ. Each Won-gyee has an assistant known as a Wondonk, who sits in the Hlwŏt-daŭ, but does not speak or vote. Thus there are four Won-gyees and four Wondonks. A number of Tsayé-daŭ-gyees, or royal scribes, are also engaged in the Hlwŏt-daŭ.

The privy council is known as the Byadeik. It is held, not in a detached building like the Hlwŏt-daŭ, but in a chamber within the palace. Its members are called Atweng-wons. They are the private advisers of the King. Whatever emanates directly from the King is first discussed in the privy council, and then communicated to the Hlwŏt-daŭ. A number of secretaries are also engaged in the privy council.

These two councils appear as relics of a constitution, which has long lost all real power. The members of both are mere nominees of the King; they are the creatures of his will, the instruments by which his orders are carried out. Occasionally he may listen to their advice; but they exercise nothing of the influence which attends a hereditary or elective body; and their authority, excepting in matters of detail, is little better than a sham.

The provincial administration radiates from these central councils. It covers the whole kingdom like a network. Every local head is in official correspondence with the Hlwŏt-daū; but there is a supplementary system of espionage throughout the kingdom, under which a secret surveillance is maintained over the whole. The kingdom is divided into provinces, the provinces into districts, the districts into townships, and townships into hamlets or villages. The governor of a province is known as the Myo-won; he is vested with the entire charge —civil, judicial, military, and financial. In the old days of Burmese rule, the Myo-won of Pegu had three officers directly under him, namely: the Yé-won, or deputy; the Akwon-won, or collector of taxes; and the Akouk-won, or collector of customs. Old travellers to Rangoon frequently refer to these four officials, who sometimes sat together as a council, and transacted business in the public hall, known as the Yon-dau. Every district is governed by a Myo-thoo-gyee; every township by a Tseetkay; and every hamlet or village by a Thoo-gyee or Kyay-dan-gyee.

The mode in which the ministers and officials were supported by grants from the land revenues, has already been described. Under this system the "eaters of revenue" exercised a certain territorial influence over the township or village assigned them.

The present King has, however, attempted to make a great change in this system, and which, if he succeeds in fully carrying out, will very considerably decrease their influence. Many of these grants of revenues have been abolished, and the ministers * and other officials, and I believe the ladies and favourites of the zenana also are now paid by fixed salaries. This measure is said to have been initiated by the King in imitation of British administration, and its effect will be to render him more absolute and despotic than ever.

The people of Burma will not profit by the change. The financial system is still as oppressive as ever. The great principle of the Burmese *régime* is, that the subject is the property of the King, and that he is entitled to his labour gratis. There is little or no private property in land. Gardens and sites of houses, and sometimes tanks and fish-ponds, are respected as private property, but lands in general are not regarded as property, or only as the property of the King. The lands are distributed in small allotments of only a few acres, and in this shape are assigned to the immediate cultivators, but only as tenants raising produce for the good

* The salaries of the four ministers of state is said to be £2,400 each a year, the senior Atweng-won—who is also royal treasurer—receives the same as a Won-gyee, and the remaining three, each, £1,500, the four Won-donks receive each £1,200 per annum. No perquisites are allowed, except those which may be occasionally and specially allowed by His Majesty.

of the King. Under the despotic system of the Burmese Government, no large areas of land can possibly accumulate in the hands of independent proprietors.

The petty proprietors owe their existence to their insignificance. The Burmese Government claims the right of property in their labour; it overlooks the land as the material of labour, and collects such contributions as it pleases. In former times it was the cultivators, rather than the lands, that were assigned to officials and favourites in lieu of stipends or salaries, and in like manner they were made over for the maintenance of public establishments, such as war boats and elephants. Besides their regular contribution, the cultivators are subjected to occasional demands for extraordinary subsidies, which are ordered through the Hlwŏt-daū. Such demands are invariably made a pretext for additional exactions, which go into the pockets of local officials.

In Burma torture is freely used to force confession, and punishments have always been exceptionally cruel. Imprisonment in fetters, confiscation, and flogging, are the common punishments for slight offences, but graver ones are punished with mutilation, slavery, and death with torture. The law, too, allows no individual responsibility, the punishment, or the execution of one, often involving the members of a whole family, together with their relations and

dependants. Money, however, will expiate almost any offence except treason and sacrilege. Under the present King there has been much amelioration, especially as regards death and torture. His Majesty does not like to order executions on his own authority, and he has been induced in some cases to modify the severity of punishment by the personal influence of the Chief Commissioner and British Resident.

An odious system prevails of the office of constable, gaoler, and executioner being united in the same person, and he is generally a criminal pardoned on consideration of his performing these duties for life. He receives no pay from the state or otherwise, but lives by bribery and extortion wrung from his unfortunate prisoners. He is called Pa-Kwet (cheek-circle) from a circle which is branded on each of his cheeks on his undertaking office; and he has often, also the nature of his crime, such as loo-that, dhamya, thoo-kho (murderer, bandit, thief), tattooed on his breast in large letters. The pa-kwet are looked upon as outcasts, and when they die the usual funeral rites are not performed, their bodies being interred in the same manner as lepers and other unclean persons. During our procession from the steamers to the Residency at Mandalay, several of these guardians of the peace, armed with long white rods, were interspersed along the streets to

keep order amongst the crowd assembled to see the procession pass. No occasion, however, appeared for their services, for nothing could be more quiet and orderly than the behaviour of the people, and so different from an European crowd, not a word or sound being uttered.

There is one remarkable usage amongst the Burmese which is essentially Mongol. There is no distinction between civil and military services. Treasurers and Judges are expected to take the command of armies. The Burmese army comprises the whole population of adult males, or rather as much of the population as can be brought together by a forced conscription. Sometimes they are collected from particular provinces, townships, or districts, but on great occasions levies are made of the whole population. The officials then become generals. Such an army is a mere rabble. It is without any discipline or military virtue. It is formidable only to the petty tribes and nations in the neighbourhood.

The present King has occasionally employed Europeans to drill his army, but a very small amount of success has hitherto attended his efforts in this direction.

The conduct of the Burmese troops during their predatory incursions into bordering states has often been cruel and ferocious. In the present day, the

growing influence of the British Government acts to a certain extent as a check upon these atrocities, and they are only now openly committed in the more remote quarters of the King of Burma's territories.

The condition of slaves in Burma is very sad. Some are hereditary, such as those who are condemned to serve in pagodas.* Others are bond slaves, who might obtain their liberty by paying their debts. The condition of outcasts is nearly as bad as that of hereditary slaves, though it does not necessarily extend to their offspring. They include lepers and other incurables, executioners, who are generally pardoned malefactors, coffin-makers, and others employed in the disposal of dead bodies, as

* On completion of the building of a pagoda by a royal personage, a grant of slaves (Phura-kywon) is generally made to look after it. Such persons may be people seized for the purpose, and driven from their homes in another part of the country, prisoners of war, malefactors, or the inhabitants of a tract of country, the governor or leading authority in which has been concerned in a rebellion. There is no escape from bondage, either for them or their progeny. The following, taken from Buddhughosha's "Parables," is the Buddhist law concerning them :—"Although anyone shall give a substitute for a Pagoda-slave, he cannot liberate him, for the slaves set aside by kings as consecrated property for the five thousand years of the church, are fixed and settled for the five thousand years of the church." (That is to say for the period of Guatama's dispensation.) "Whoever from kings downwards shall break the continuity of the consecration for the five thousand years of the church, and resume the property, shall pass into the lowest hell. Slaves who have been offered to pagodas can only be employed in cleaning pagodas. They must not wait upon kings or anyone else. If those who have great power employ pagoda-slaves, they will lose their power and die a frightful death ; they will come to misery and destruction : so it is written in the book Sutta." Again, as regards church lands, it is stated : "Whoever shall take for himself or for another any consecrated land, shall become a mite, or a white ant, upon that consecrated land for the whole of a hundred thousand cycles."

well as deformed and mutilated persons. I need not enter into details respecting such unfortunate wretches. They live apart from the masses, indeed few people will hold any communication with them.

The King's principal Queen *—and who must be of royal blood—is the daughter of the late King Tharawadi, and the King's half-sister. She is called Nama-dau-phura, or divine royal mother. Her age (this year, 1876) is sixty-seven, and the King's sixty-two years. She is peculiarly plain and dark complexioned for a Burmese, and much pitted with small-pox. Besides the principal Queen, the King has four lesser queens, called Ashé, Alay, Myouk, and Anouk Mie-phura-dau, or Queens of the east, centre, northern, and western palaces. There are, moreover, upwards of two hundred concubines. The King has no children by his principal Queen; but by the lesser queens and concubines,† is said to be the father, or putative father, of one hundred and twenty-six children, eighty-four of whom are living. On the death of a King, the whole of his female establishment is immured for the rest of

* Since this was written the Queen has died. She died in November, 1876. Her body is embalmed and placed in one of the apartments lately occupied by Her Majesty, dressed in the royal robes and paraphernalia of Burmese royalty. The King, according to the precepts of the Buddhist religion, spends a portion of each day in this apartment, absorbed in contemplation and musings on the transitory nature of this life.

† Concubines in Burma are considered in the same light as the handmaids of the Old Testament.

their lives in a building set apart for the purpose within the palace enclosure, called the palace of chastity!

The number of eunuchs kept up by the King is small. One, whom I frequently saw when I was at Mandalay—and who appeared to be a special favourite of the King's—was tall for a Burmese, and appeared strong, but loosely put together. He was said to be young in years, but his face was much wrinkled, which was attempted to be concealed, apparently, by a thick wash of tha-nat-kha,—a fragrant yellowish pigment, much used by Burmese ladies for rubbing on their face and body, and made from the bark and root of the *Murraya paniculata*, an ornamental flowering shrub of the citron species. The appearance of this eunuch agrees with the description as given of them by Claudian, who remarks, "that there is scarcely any interval between the youth and decrepitude of such persons;" and Chrysostom also observes that "when the paint was washed away from the face of Eutropius (the eunuch), it appeared more ugly and wrinkled than that of an old woman." Their influence is much dreaded by the King's ministers and others in authority, as they are reputed to be very spiteful towards those who offend them.

When at Mandalay, we were asked by the King to visit the white elephant. We found it to be a

small specimen, and could only by great courtesy be called white. It had a few light coloured marks, and the hair did not appear so coarse as that in the ordinary elephant, but it might be more truly described as brownish; the lighter tint being more observable by contrast with a very black female elephant, which had purposely been placed near it.

It was splendidly lodged within the palace enclosure, in a handsome pavilion, with a roof similar in shape to that which covers the royal palace. Its paraphernalia was laid out for our inspection, and was very splendid, being composed of red velvet and scarlet broad-cloth, thickly studded over with rubies and diamonds, and highly worked gold bosses. To wear on its forehead, was a gold plate inscribed with its titles, large circles set with the nine precious gems,* and many other ornaments. All the vessels used in its service for eating and drinking and other purposes, were of gold and silver. It ranks next to the heir apparent, and before all the Great Ministers of State. A Won, or Minister, and other officials, together with a large retinue are attached to it, and it has lands assigned for maintenance, like other great dignitaries of the Empire.

* *Nauwa radana*, or nine precious gems, which are often worn set in a ring as a charm against evil. They are the diamond, ruby, sapphire, emerald, cat's-eye, turquoise, pearl, amethyst, and oriental topaz.

The white elephant* is held in extraordinary veneration by the Burmese. Its supernatural excellence is supposed to communicate itself to its possessors, and both the King and his people would deem it most inauspicious to be without one. The cause of this great veneration is, I believe, that the last incarnation of Gautama before he became Buddha, was that of a white elephant, and that one might be so of the coming Buddha also, and cause great blessings to flow to the country possessing it. In case of illness, the white elephant is attended by the King's principal physicians, and prayers offered up for its recovery by the priests; and on its death, royal funeral honours are paid to its remains.

The present capital of the kingdom, Mandalay, was founded by the present King in 1860. The city is laid out in a square, each side of which is a little over a mile in length. It is enclosed by a brick wall, twenty-six feet high, and three feet thick, crenelated at the top. In the rear of the wall is an earthen parapet twenty-six feet broad, reaching within four feet of its upper surface, so as to allow of a fire being opened through the indentations. The flanking defences are provided for

* Equal veneration is paid to the white elephant in the neighbouring country of Siam. In the King's estimation one of the most precious gifts he presented to Her Majesty, through Sir John Bowring, on his mission to Siam, was a tuft of his white elephant's hairs!

by towers, or buttresses, protruding from the wall, and placed about two hundred feet apart. At the angles two of these meet together, and form one large bastion.

The wall is pierced with twelve* gates, three on each side, protected on the outside by very thick masonry traverses. Over the gateways are pavilions, or watch towers, with double and triple roofs. Sixty feet from the walls a deep moat has been dug one hundred feet in breadth, and always kept full of water. It is crossed by five bridges, two on the west or river face, and one on each of the other three sides. No provision has been made for the defence of these bridges, except that afforded from the wall, but being formed of timber they could be easily removed or destroyed on the approach of an enemy. There is no glacis, or any other advanced work beyond the ditch. The roads, both inside the city and in the suburbs, run parallel with the city walls, dividing the building sites into rectangular blocks. The number of houses, intra-mural and extra-mural, are said to be, in round

* It is said that when the massive teak posts of the gateways of the new city were erected, a man was bound and placed under each post, and crushed to death. The Burmese believe that persons meeting a violent death haunt the place where they were killed, and their spirits become nats. Nats inflict injury on any persons molesting the spots where they abide, and it is thought that they would in this way contribute to the defence of the gates. There is no doubt that a custom of the kind prevailed in former times; and Burmese follow precedents invariably, even in the most trifling matters. But the King has denied that the above practice was followed in the present instance.

numbers, twelve thousand; and the population is estimated at sixty-five thousand.

The palace of the King is in the centre of the city. It is enclosed, first, by a stockade of teak posts, twenty feet high, then, at an interval of one hundred feet, by a brick wall, and at a further interval of one hundred feet, by another brick wall. There are three gates in the stockade, one, the public entrance, in the eastern face, and the two others in the northern and southern sides. Just outside the inner wall is placed the Hlwŏt-daŭ, or Hall of the Supreme Council. In the inner enclosure stands the palace, the front facing the east, and containing the great Hall of Audience, about two hundred and sixty feet long, composed of teak timber, beautifully carved and gilded, erected on a terrace of brickwork ten feet high.* The front is a colonnade, the central part running back, forming a nave with two side aisles. At the extremity of

* This ancient style of Panasiatic architecture can be traced in the audience halls of the Moguls at Delhi and Agra, though the superstructure there has assumed a lithic form and become an arcade of marble, instead of a pavilion on timber columns.

Fergusson, in his "History of Indian Architecture," (page 630), says:—"Solomon's House of the Cedars of Lebanon is, with mere difference of detail, reproduced at Ava or Amirapura; and the palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis are rendered infinitely more intelligible by the study of Burmese edifices."

A good idea of this style of architecture can be formed from the Albert Memorial in Hyde Park, which in shape is similar to that of a Burmese *Thein*. In Burma these *Theins*, or open pavilions supported on four pillars, are built over large sitting images of Guatama; the latter being generally gilt.

this nave, is a space like a chancel (said to be the exact centre of the city) where stands the throne, over which rises a grand shwé-pya-that,* or gilded spire, rising in light graceful diminishing stages, visible from all parts of the city and surrounding country.

Behind this hall is the Bya-deik, or Privy Council Chamber, and other offices; and to the westward of them are the private apartments, and pleasure grounds; the latter of which the King is very proud of. They are well planted with flowering shrubs and fruit trees, and laid out in winding paths, with here and there artificial pieces of water, mounds, and rockery work; and as my wife remarked to the King, when he asked her opinion of them, and which appeared to please him, "have a pretty and peculiar effect, quite unlike anything we had seen before."

The palace† enclosure also contains the treasury,

* Pya-that is a corruption, I think, of the Pali word *Prasada*, a palace.

† It is extraordinary how the above resembles the description of the palace of the great Cublay Kaun, as given by Yule in the "Book of Ser Marco Polo," and shows how the Burmese, in the construction of their cities and palaces, still keep up their Tatar proclivities. It is as follows :—

"The palace is enclosed all round by a great wall forming a square, each side of which is a mile in length : that is to say, the whole compass thereof is four miles. This you may depend on; it is also very thick, and a good ten paces in height, white-washed and loop-holed all round. At each angle of the wall there is a fine and rich palace in which the war-harness of the Emperor is kept. Also midway between every two of these corner palaces there is another of the like, so that, taking the whole compass of the enclosure, you find eight vast palaces, stored with the great Lord's harness of war.

arsenal, powder magazine, and mint. Close to the eastern gate is a lofty campanile, where the water-clock is placed which gives the time to the palace and city. This clock consists of a large jar filled with water, in which a brass cup, with a small

"The great wall has five gates on its southern face, the middle one being the great gate, which is never opened on any occasion except when the Great Khan himself goes forth or enters. Close on either side of this great gate is a smaller one, by which all other people pass; and then towards each angle is another great gate, also open to people in general, so that on that side there are five gates in all. Inside of this wall there is a second, enclosing a space that is somewhat greater in length than in breadth. This enclosure also has eight palaces corresponding to those of the outer wall, and stored, like them, with the Lord's harness of war. This wall also hath five gates on the southern face, corresponding to those in the outer wall, and have one gate on each of the other faces as the outer wall hath also. In the middle of the second enclosure is the Lord's great palace, and I will tell you what it is like.

"You must know that it is the greatest palace that ever was. Towards the north it is in contact with the outer wall, whilst towards the south there is a vacant space which the barons and the soldiers are constantly traversing. The palace itself hath no upper story, but is all on the ground floor, only the basement is raised some ten palms above the surrounding soil, and this elevation is retained by a wall of marble raised to the level of the pavement, two paces in width and projecting beyond the base of the palace so as to form a kind of terrace-walk, by which the people can pass round the building, and which is exposed to view, whilst on the outer edge of the wall there is a very fine pillared balustrade, and up to this the people are allowed to come. The roof is very lofty, and the walls of the palace are all covered with gold and silver.

"The hall of the palace is so large that it would easily dine six thousand people, and it is quite a marvel to see how many rooms there are besides. On the interior side of the palace are large buildings, with halls and chambers, where the Emperor's private property is placed, such as his treasures of gold, silver, gems, pearls, and gold plate, and in which reside the ladies and concubines. There he occupies himself at his own convenience, and no one else has access.

"Between the two walls of the enclosure which I have described, there are fine parks and beautiful trees bearing a variety of fruits." The account goes on to describe these grounds as filled with artificial mounds, lakes, and intersected with raised paths, &c.

The plan of the wall of the city of Mandalay, too, with its crenelated top, flanking buttresses and parapet, strongly resembles the Great Wall of China, known as the rampart of Gog and Magog, described in the same work.

hole pierced in the bottom, is made to float. When it sinks it marks the hour. The day and night are divided, each, into four equal parts, and the number of the hours is sixty-four. At the end of each quarter a large gong and great drum, placed at the summit of the tower, are beaten alternately to mark the quarters and number of the hour.*

The foregoing details perhaps render it unnecessary for me to dwell upon the comparative merits of British and Burmese administration. No one but a special pleader, or a fanatic, will ever try to induce the world to believe that any Asiatic dominion, whatever, will bear comparison with that of Great Britain, excepting, perhaps, that of Imperial Rome.

In 1867, I was called upon by the Government of India to draw up a memorandum on the subject; it is printed in the Appendix† to the second volume.

* The following is the Burmese division of time :—

12 Khanna	=	1 Khara.
10 Khara	=	1 Pyan.
6 Pyans	=	1 Beedzana.
16 Beedzana	=	1 Pad.
4 Pads	=	1 Naree (hour).
64 Narees	=	1 Ayet (day).
7 Ayet	=	1 Tathedeng (week).
2 Tathedeng	=	1 Pakkha (a side of the moon waxing or waning; a fortnight).
2 Pakkha	=	1 La (month).
12 La	=	1 Amheet (year.

† Appendix D.

I did not deem it necessary to contrast the rank oppressive rule of rapacious and cruel Burmese Viceroys—when no man dared to be rich, trade languished, and the people were content to bound their exertions to the narrow limits of their actual wants—with the benevolent and enlightened administration of English officials. I confined myself to the main fact, that ever since the first Burmese war, all the surrounding populations have immigrated in large numbers into the provinces under British protection. The following conclusions, which will be found worked out in the memorandum in the Appendix, will suffice to show the material progress of the Burmese people under British administration, as compared with their condition under Burmese officialism.

In 1826, the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim were annexed to the British dominions, whilst Pegu remained under Burmese administration. The population of Arakan amounted at that period to about 100,000 souls; and that of Tenasserim to about 70,000. In 1855 the population of Arakan had increased to more than 350,000; whilst that of Tenasserim had increased to more than 210,000. Within thirty years the population of both provinces had trebled under British rule. This vast increase was due to immigration from provinces under Burmese government, and notably from Pegu.

Shortly before the completion of this period Pegu was wrested from the Burmese government, and the interposition of the new British province almost immediately caused emigration to the two older provinces to subside; thus proving that the cause which had given rise to it had been removed. The tide of life flowed no longer from Pegu, when a Government which respected the rights of individuals had been established; but commenced to flow into it from Upper Burma in a continuous stream, and in a very short time more than recouped it for the multitude who had abandoned that province for Arakan and Tenasserim. In 1855, the population of Pegu was about 700,000; in 1865 it had swelled to 1,400,000; in 1875 it was 1,750,187.

The Burmese dynasty, unlike many of those we have supplanted in India, has always possessed a stronghold on the reverence and imaginations of the people, and offences against the reigning sovereign, he being believed to be sprung from the same sacred kin as their God, carry with them religious, as well as social penalties. The desertion of their own sovereign and country by these masses, and their voluntarily placing themselves under an alien rule, coupled with the vast increase of prosperity in every shape of the portion of Burma which has become British, must, therefore,

at least as far as British Burma is concerned, unequivocally convince the blindest admirer of native rule and institutions of the excellence of British over Native Rule; and that no portion of our great Eastern Empire is more important, and with a greater future before it, than our possessions in Burma.

A late writer* on Burma has truly said, "England's mission in this part of the East—the India beyond the Ganges of our old geographers—is but commencing. In many respects her task is easier, and her advantages greater than in her elder trust of the other India. She has to deal with populations less fanatical, less dissimilar, less numerous, more simple and unprejudiced, with a milder and more tolerant religion, free from caste, from all cruel and impious rites, from fierce hatred and hostility to its rivals, and in its ethics almost Christian. She has the experience of the past to guide her—an experience often bitter and dearly purchased, but invaluable for her future guidance.

"Let us hope that her career in India, though not inglorious, will be eclipsed by that in Burma—her success, though not inconsiderable, in civilising and evangelising the Hindus, be surpassed by what she will achieve among the Buddhists."

"Ubi vincit Romanus habitat" cannot be said of British conquest in the East. Adam Smith quaintly

* The Rev. H. W. Crofton, late Chaplain of Rangoon.

remarks that "it is a very singular government in which every member of the Administration wishes to get out of the country, as soon as he can, and to whose interest, the day after he has left it, and carried his whole fortune with him, he is perfectly indifferent, though the whole country was swallowed up by an earthquake." This may be partially true; but, though its officers are continually changing, the constituent principles of the government remain the same; and the best proof of our rule is that, India, and more especially British Burma, in no previous period of their history, have ever enjoyed such liberty, security, and general prosperity as at present.

CHAPTER V.

PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF BRITISH BURMA, INCLUDING AREA, CHARACTER OF THE SURFACE, CLIMATE, TEMPERATURE, AND BOTANICAL PRODUCTIONS.

Geographical description.—Limits and extent.—The Arakan division.—Valley of the Irawadi.—Northern boundary between the British possessions and those of the King of Ava.—Principal rivers.—The Irawadi.—Its supposed source.—Areas drained by it in different parts of its course.—Volume of water discharged.—Its ten mouths.—The Hleing, Pegu, Sittang, and Beeling rivers.—Funnel-shaped channel at the mouth of the Sittang.—Extraordinary height and violence of the bore there.—Canal connecting the Pegu and Sittang rivers.—Lakes.—The Salween river.—Difficulty of its navigation above Maulmain.—Its source involved in great uncertainty.—The expedition sent to survey its course.—Jealous suspicions of the King of Burma regarding its object.—Tenasserim Division.—Area of the province.—Communications chiefly by water.—Roads.—Soil.—Geological features.—Climate.—Temperature.—The south-west and north-east monsoons.—The total fall of rain.—Ranges of the thermometer.—Climate not inimical to the European constitution.—Beautiful scenery.—Great variety of the flora.—Ornamental trees.—Palms.—Fruits.—Great variety of creepers and wonderful luxuriance of the undergrowth in the forests.—Ferns and orchids.—Dendrobium Fytchianum.—The bamboo.—Its rapid growth.—Timber trees.—The teak tree.—Its valuable qualities.—Does not grow in large continuous masses.—Its immediate associates in the forest.—Peculiarity of its leaves.—Area of forests reserved by the State.—Produce of the teak reserves.—Quantity imported inland from foreign territories.—Total of British and foreign teak timber exported from the province.—Strychnos Nux Vomica.—Dipterocarpus lævis and D. turbinatus varieties of the wood-oil tree.—Mode of extracting oil from them.

At the commencement of the second chapter, I gave the boundaries of our territory in Burma as they existed when I was first posted to Arakan in 1841. The second Burmese war of 1852–53 very

considerably enlarged these limits, and the province of British Burma (see accompanying map) now extends in a continuous line for nearly 1,000 miles along the eastern shore of the Bay of Bengal, from the southern limits of the Chittagong Division of the Lower Provinces, situated in 20° 50 N. Lat., to the northern boundary of the kingdom of Siam in 10° N. Lat., and may be geographically divided into four portions: Arakan stretching from the Nâf Estuary, which separates the Province from Chittagong, to Cape Negrais, and consisting of a comparatively narrow strip of country between the sea and a high mountain chain:—the valley of the Irawadi, which, divided from the Sittang valley by the Pegu Yoma range, unites with it in its southern portion; to the eastward is the chain of hills which forms the watershed between the Sittang and the Salween rivers, and on the west the Anouk-bhet toung-myeng, literally "the high western range of mountains," sometimes called the Arakan Yoma range:—the valley of the Salween:—and Tenasserim, a narrow strip, like Arakan, reaching down to the Pakchan stream, its southern boundary with Siam, and separated from Siam to the eastward by a lofty chain of hills running from north to south nearly parallel to the coast, at a distance of from thirty to forty miles inland, but approaching nearer to the sea at its southern extremity.

Arakan, originally a powerful kingdom conquered by the Burmese, and ceded by them to the British after the first Burmese war in 1825, and having an area of 18,531 square miles, lies between the Nâf Estuary and Cape Negrais, and is bounded on the south and west by the sea, and on the north and east by the high range of mountains which, springing southwards in a chaos of forest-covered spurs, form the great Assam chain of mountains, between longitude 93° and 95°, encloses the alluvial valley of Munipúr, and forming the eastern boundary of Bengal, extends from the south-eastern extremity of Sylhet and Cachar in a south-westerly direction as far as the Fenny river, whence, about the 23rd parallel of North latitude, it turns south-east for 360 geographical miles; then, turning again to the westward of south it gradually diminishes both in breadth and elevation till it ends sixteen miles south-east of the rocky promontory of Cape Negrais at Pagoda point, called by the Burmese *Hmau-deng*.

This chain, though of considerable height to the north, (the Blue Mountain is supposed to be 6,000 feet above the sea level,) diminishes in altitude as it reaches Arakan, and none of the passes across it in that portion of its length are more than 4,000 feet above the sea, the Aeng pass into the valley of the Irawadi, much less. From Combermere Bay, twenty-five miles south of Akyab, the coast is

rugged and rocky, offering few harbours for ships; Kyouk-phyoo harbour inside the island of Ramree is safe and easy of approach, and at the mouth of the Gwa river further south there is a fairly sheltered roadstead and an inner harbour easy of access through a channel with two fathoms of water at low tide; the rise and fall of the tide is seven feet only.

The coast is studded with fertile islands, the largest of which are Cheduba and Ramree. Owing to the nearness of the range which bounds Arakan, there are no large rivers; the principal ones are the Nâf Estuary on the extreme west, the Mroo river, an arm of the sea about forty miles to the eastward, and from three to four miles broad at its mouth, and extending more than fifty miles inland; and the Kuladan,* Yan-pany, or Arakan river rising somewhere near the Blue Mountain in 23° N. Lat., which is navigable for fifty odd miles by vessels of 300 or 400 tons burden, and on the right bank of which, close to its mouth, is situated the town and port of Akyab the head-quarter town of the Akyab district and of the Arakan division, the approach to which is easy for vessels drawing up to twenty-two feet of water. Beyond this the rivers are of but

* Kuladan, *i,e.*, limit or border of the Kulah or western foreigner. St. John thinks the name is derived from *dan*, a place, and *kulah*, a foreigner; as it was on this river that the Kings of Arakan located their Bengalee slaves.

little importance; they are the Talak and the Aeng, navigable by boats only, and the Sandoway, the Toungoop and the Gwa streams, the latter of which alone has any importance owing to its mouth forming a good port of call or haven for steamers or vessels of from nine to ten feet draught.

The whole of the rivers in the Akyab and Ramree districts anastomose by channels which, though dry in some instances during ebb tides, are all navigable for boats during the flood; the whole coast-line is in fact a labyrinth of creeks and tidal nullahs which rise at the foot of the hills and receive the contribution of numerous small streams. There are no lakes properly so called, but there are some small sheets of water, the principal of which are near the old town of Arakan, the capital of the ancient kingdom, formed by bunds placed across different valleys by the former kings which are now all out of repair and have become marshes, rendering that portion of the country very unhealthy.

The valley of the Irawadi at its lower end unites with the valley of the Sittang to form an extensive plain stretching from Cape Negrais on the west to Martaban on the east. The watershed between these two streams is the Pegu Yoma range, which, running north and south, terminates in low hills at Rangoon. The boundaries of the tract of country which compose these two valleys are the Anouk-

bhet-toung-myeng, or Arakan Yoma range of mountains on the west, and the Poung-loung range, rising to a height of 7,000 feet, it is said, on the east.

The northern boundary line, which separates the British possessions from the territory of the King of Ava, and which is marked by a line of masonry pillars, erected at distances apart varying from two to ten miles, leaves the Arakan hills at a point called Myeng-mateng-toung, "The ever-visible peak," situated in 19° 30′ N. Lat., and, running eastward in an irregular deflected line, passes the Irawadi at its fiftieth mile, and forty-three miles further on the Pegú Yoma range; thence, after thirty-three miles, it crosses the Sittang, and ends abruptly at a point in the Poung-loung range of mountains, constituting the water-shed of the Sittang and Salween rivers, in about Lat. 19° 24′ N., and Long. 96° 41′ E.

The Irawadi valley, which is about eighty miles broad at the frontier line, counting from chain to chain, and is there so rugged that little regular cultivation can be carried on, gradually widens towards its southern extremity, and about sixty or seventy miles south of the frontier the hills which bound it have receded so far that it becomes a broad flat level plain, highly cultivated, and the richest portion of the whole province.

Owing to the spurs thrown out by the Pegu Yoma range, the main valley is divided into several smaller ones, principally that of the Hleing river, which is almost identical with the main valley, that of the Pegu river, and that of the Poozoòn-doung river. The Sittang valley in its northern portion resembles the valley of the Irawadi, and towards the south it gradually widens, leaving on the west a strip of country about twenty-five or thirty miles broad, covered with dense jungle, which stretches down as far as Shwè-gyeen; thence to the sea on the western side is rice cultivation. On the eastern side there is a lower range of hills between the main range and the river, to which they approach so close that there is hardly any plain; they gradually recede, and leave a narrow strip for some distance below Shwè-gyeen, and at last end a short distance below Sittang. From this point to the sea there is one immense plain, stretching from Martaban to Cape Negrais, and intersected only by rivers and tidal creeks.

The coast line, which is low and flat, runs in an easterly direction from Hmaudeng or Pagoda point to Baragon point, and thence in a north easterly direction to the gulf of Martaban.

The main rivers (see accompanying map) are the Irawadi, the Hleing or Rangoon, the Pegu, the Sittang and the Beeling. The Irawadi, which is

supposed to have its rise in about latitude 28° N. and longitude 97° 30′ E., flows for some 780 miles before reaching the British possessions, and thence its waters roll on for 240 miles to the sea in a S.S.W. direction. As it nears the coast it divides, converting the lower portion of the valley into a network of tidal creeks. A little above Henzadah, about 90 miles inland, it sends off its first branch to the westward which, flowing past Bassein, receives the waters of the Panmawaddee and of the Penglay-galay, and bifurcating, enters the Bay of Bengal by two main mouths, the Bassein and the Thekkay-thoung rivers.

The former is navigable for large ships drawing up to twenty-six feet of water, for sixty miles, that is, as far as the important town and port of Bassein.

After passing Henzadah it sends off a small branch to the eastward which joins the Hleing just above Rangoon. The main river then divides and sub-divides till it empties itself into the sea by ten mouths—the Yuay, Dayaybhyoo, Pyamaloo, Pyengazaloo, Dalla, Phyapon, Donyan, Thanhteat and China Buckeer rivers, and the Irawadi which is between the Pyengazaloo and Dalla mouths. The waters of the Irawadi commence to rise in March, and continue to rise till September, when, or in October, they begin to fall, having risen from thirty-seven to forty feet above the lowest level. It

is navigable for river steamers as far as Bhamo, 600 miles beyond the British frontier. The velocity of its waters, when the river is full, is five miles an hour.

Colonel Yule,* from facts collected by him, assumes that the Irawadi takes its rise in the lofty Langtam range of the Himalayas, whose peaks, covered with perpetual snow, separate the valleys inhabited by the Shan race of Khamtis, from the head-waters of the sacred Brahmaputra, and which would be somewhere about the latitude and longitude I have given above; but the exact position of its source is still a matter of speculation. A gallant attempt to solve the problem was made, in 1827, by Lieutenants Wilcox and Burlton, who penetrated across the mountains from Assam, and reached a point on the Irawadi in lat. 27° 26′, a few miles north of Mongkhamti. The river there was about eighty yards broad, and though considerably swollen by melting snows, was still fordable, and traversed by numerous shallow rapids. From this point the sources of the river could not be far distant, and their position was pointed out in a towering wall of snow-capped mountains, stretching from west to east transverse to the valley. Colonel Yule also states that, as well as can be ascertained, the areas drained by the Irawadi in different parts of its course,

* See "Mission to Ava," p. 273, and Appendix G.

assuming its sources in the Khamti mountains, are as follows :—

Immediately below the mouth of Mogoung river .	$5\frac{3}{4}$	sq.	degs.
At Amaropoora	$13\frac{1}{2}$	„	„
At Prome	31	„	„
At the head of the Delta	$32\frac{1}{2}$	„	„

The dry-weather volume of water discharged by the Irawadi off Prome, taken by Dr. McClelland on 25th April, 1853, when the river was about fifteen inches above its lowest level, and 1,210 yards broad, was found to be 105,794 cubic feet per second ; the mean spread of current being $1\frac{2}{2}\frac{1}{2}$ of a mile, or 3,440 yards, per hour, and mean depth 12·708 feet. The difference between the highest and lowest level of the river at Prome is about 25 feet.

The Hleing rises close to Prome, where it is called the Myeetmakat stream, and flowing in a southerly direction nearly parallel to the Irawadi, it gradually assumes the name of the Hleing, and finally of the Rangoon river, and flows past the town of that name, having received some of the waters of the Irawadi through the Nyoungdon stream. Just below Rangoon it is joined by the Pegu and Poozoondoung rivers flowing from the east and north-east. It is navigable for vessels of the largest size for some little distance above Rangoon, or say twenty-six miles from its mouth; but owing to the Hastings shoal, formed at the junction

of the Pegu, the Poozoondoung and Rangoon rivers, vessels of more than six feet draught cannot come up at low tide.

The Pegu and the Poozoondoung rivers rise close together in the Yoma range, about fifty-eight miles above the town of Pegu, the capital of the ancient Talaing kingdom conquered by the Burmese under Alompra, and which gives its name to all this portion of the country. Here the Pegu river, which is almost dry during the hot season at low tides, is 105 yards broad: in its further course of sixty miles to the Rangoon river, it rapidly increases in breadth, but narrowing at its mouth a bore goes up it, the effects of which are felt at Pegu. The Poozoondoung river, which empties itself into the Rangoon river at the same spot as the Pegu river, is a much smaller stream, being only fifty yards wide at a distance of thirty-five miles from its mouth.

Throughout the whole of the lower portion of the valley, the rivers inter-communicate so much that it is almost impossible to say that they are distinct: the waters of the Irawadi are partially poured out through the Rangoon; the Poozoondoung and the Pegu rivers are connected by many small streams; and the Rangoon river itself returns some of its waters to the western mouth of the Irawadi.

The Sittang river, known in its upper course by the name of Poung-loung, takes its rise, according

to Dr. Richardson, in the hills south-east of Ava, about twenty-five miles north of the great lake of Nyoung-Gwé, and with which it is supposed by the natives to be connected by a subterranean passage. About half its course, which is very tortuous and has been compared to the writhing of a wounded snake, only lies in British territory, which it enters just above Toungoo; here it is narrow and navigable with difficulty for large boats during the dry season. Below Shwè-gyeen, where it receives the waters of the Shwè-gyeen river from the east, it gradually and slowly widens, till, at the town of Sittang, it is half a mile broad. Thence it curves backward so as to form an inverted ∞, and it at last flows into the Gulf of Martaban through a funnel-shaped channel, widening so rapidly that it is impossible to tell where the river ends and the gulf begins. Owing to the meeting in this gulf of the great tidal wave of the Indian ocean, arriving from the south-west, and of other portions which come along the Tenasserim coast from the south-east, a bore, with a speed at spring tides of twelve miles an hour, and a curling crest nine feet high, sweeps up the Sittang river with ungovernable fury, its effect, though broken by the serpentine curve below Sittang, being felt at Shwé-gyeen. The Beeling river rises in the Poung-loung hills, and flows southward to the sea, entering the gulf between the Salween and the Sittang.

There is only one canal, which was constructed a few years ago, connecting the Pegu and Sittang rivers. There always was a stream there, which was deepened and widened, so as to allow of the passage of large boats, and a small river steamer once passed through it from Rangoon up the Pegu and Sittang rivers to Toungoo. Of lakes there are but four, which are more properly lagoons: the Thoo lake in the Myanoung district, on the west bank of the Irawadi, between that river and the Arakan hills, which is eight or nine miles round and two-and-a-half across; the Lahagyin, in a large low tract of ground on the opposite bank of the Irawadi; the Kandaugyee, or "large Royal lake," near Rangoon, about three miles round; and the lake of clear water in the Bassein district, about five miles in circumference, with a pretty uniform breadth of 280 to 300 yards, and a depth of from twenty to forty-five feet in the centre.

The valley of the Salween is British territory only in its lower portion. The right bank of that river is a wilderness of mountains, drained by various streams, the most important of which is the Yonzaleen; but lower down, and especially below the Thoungyeen river on the east bank, there are large alluvial plains, which are drained by the Gyne and the Attaran rivers. The Salween, owing to its rapids, though a large river, is not navigable for

large ships above the town and port of Maulmain, situated twenty-seven miles from its mouth. Maulmain is the head-quarter town of the district of Amherst and of the Tenasserim division. The source of the Salween is involved in still greater uncertainty than that of the Irawadi. Colonel Yule, in his map of Burma and adjacent countries, lays it down in lat. 26° 45′, and long. 98° 40′, in the Goolan Sigon range, in which is the conspicuous Siue Shau, the lofty snowy mountains, visible from Momein, and gives its upper course as delineated in the Lamas maps sent home by the Jesuits from Thibet. He thinks, however, the inferior amount of water discharged by this river is scarcely consistent with such a vast length as has been ascribed to it, and that its source will be found not far beyond the northern limits of Yunan. The general character of the Salween beyond where it enters British territory, and a short way within it, is that of a rocky and rapid stream flowing chiefly through narrow valleys, constantly interrupted by rapids, and only navigable for boats at short intervals; except in a portion of Yunan, where the stream is said to be deeper and less swift.

When I was Commissioner of Tenasserim, in 1864, an expedition was sent from Maulmain under Lieutenants Watson and Sconce to survey the course of the Salween; but owing to obstructions placed in

its way by the short-sighted policy and jealous suspicions of the present King of Burma, had to return without gaining information of any value. The Attaran rises in the chain of hills which forms the boundary between the kingdom of Siam and British Burma, and flows in a south-westerly direction through dense teak forests and an almost uninhabited country. The Gyne, which flows in a somewhat similar direction and rises in the same chain, passes through a more open country, and there are numerous villages on its banks: it is navigable for 120 miles for small boats.

Tenasserim is that tract of country lying between 17° and 10° N. latitude along the eastern side of the Bay of Bengal, and between it and a high chain of hills about forty miles inland, and includes the Mergui Archipelago, that is, the chain of islands along the coast fifteen or twenty miles distant from it. The surface of the country is mountainous, thinly populated, and much intersected by streams. Between the sea and the boundary range is another lower one, separated from the higher by the Tenasserim river. The grand range is in some places 5,000 feet high: its breadth at Martaban has never been ascertained, but further south, in the latitude of Tavoy, it appears to be forty miles wide, whence it gradually narrows to ten miles near Mergui. The whole range is covered with pathless jungle, and

may be said, without exaggeration, to be without a human habitation of any kind. The coast is very irregular, and low for some miles inland, consisting of uncultivated mangrove islands.

The Tenasserim river rises in about 16° N. latitude, and flows through a valley scarcely broader than its bed to the southward, when, after passing the ancient town of Tenasserim, which gives its name to the division, it turns suddenly to the west, and empties itself into the sea by two mouths, the northern of which is the easier navigable for large ships, although in 1825 the cruiser *Thetis* sailed up the southern entrance as far as old Tenasserim. The river is navigable for boats for 100 miles. In its upper course is a very remarkable igneous dyke * or *fault*, which runs like a wall nearly half-way across the stream, and is called by the natives the "giant's dam." It is a silicious rock, with perfect parallel sides, twenty feet above the water, five feet thick, and inclined at an angle of about ten degrees.

The total area of the Province is 93,883 square miles, of which 18,531 are in Arakan; 36,454 in Pegu, which includes the valley of the Irawadi and the whole of the valley of the Sittang on the right bank of that river; and 38,898 in the Tenasserim division, which includes the left bank of the Sittang, the southern portion of the left bank of the

* Mason's "Burma," p. 550.

Salween, *i.e.*, the country to the eastward drained by the Gyne and the Attaran, and the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal.

The communications throughout the Province are mainly by water. Steamers ply on the Irawadi between Thayetmyo, Prome, Myanoung, Henzadah and Rangoon, and a small steamer runs from Bassein to Rangoon. There is steam communication all round the coast from Calcutta to Akyab, and thence on to Rangoon and Maulmain, and a small steamer runs once a month from Maulmain south to Tavoy and Mergui. The only artificial water communication in the province is that by the Pynekyun creek, between the Pegu and Sittang rivers, through which boats on their way from Rangoon to Sittang can pass during the flood tide.

The soil throughout Arakan is mainly alluvial, mixed in places with sand; the islands are of volcanic formation, and though rocky are fertile. The rocks are composed of a dark brown sandstone, black gneiss, and brown or grey clay slate, and towards the southern portion, basalt is plentiful. Except a small quantity of iron and of limestone, there are no mineral productions of any value. The soil of the delta of the Irawadi is very rich, and gives a high return; owing to the sparseness of the population, however, there is but a comparatively small area cultivated.

The Yoma range is composed mainly of brown or grey slate-clay, alternating with beds of argillaceous sandstone, assuming at times a basaltic character. Overlying the slate-clay is a bed of laterite, forming an undulating dry tract about thirteen miles wide, covered with trees or bamboos. The Arakan range abounds in limestone, and in some portions granite, gneiss, greenstone and hornblende are met with; quartz nodules are common. Coal has been found in small quantities near Thayetmyo, but, after a careful examination by Dr. Oldham of the Geological Survey of India, it was found to be worthless, both as regards quality and quantity.

In 1854, the soil in the northern portion of the valley of the Irawadi, was reported to be well suited for the growth of cotton, but rice is the principal cultivation. The soil of the upper portion of the Sittang valley is clayey, mixed with a good deal of sand, the sand gradually disappearing towards the south. The chief formation of the small hills is laterite, and but few rocks are met with in the low land to the west of the river. To the east of the Sittang river, large masses of rock (limestone) rise suddenly and perpendicularly out of the soil, to a height of 400 or 500 feet, and from a quarter to half a mile in length, with sharp jagged ridges. These are apparently outcrops of a chain which runs north-west and south-east from the plains, to the north-east

of Maulmain across the Salween and Yonzaleen rivers to the inner Poungloung range.

The soil of the northern portion of Tenasserim is alluvial, but not much cultivated except near the Gyne, though cultivation is spreading. Stratified sandstone is the prevailing rock in the north, intersected with veins of quartz, in which crystals of great beauty are sometimes discovered; vesicular ironstone, or tufa, or laterite is also prevalent, and bituminous shale is found below the rocks. At Amherst, there is a granite reef which is uncovered at low tide only; and towards the south, granite, with the felspar white, becomes the main formation, with clay slate and micaceous iron ore on the eastern slope of the hills.

At the mouth of the Tavoy river, there is also a granite containing pinkish coloured felspar, remarkable for its hardness and its property of resisting exposure to the weather without disintegration; it also exists in a mountainous range in the north-east of the province, and was taken by Dr. Helfer for syenite. Still further south, sandstone, grey wacke, and conglomerate, in which latter there is much iron, prevail. In several parts of the country where the clay oxides predominate, the remains of furnaces for the reduction of the ore are seen, giving evidences of the rude and imperfect method of the Burmese in former years, in obtaining supplies of

iron. The slag and scoriæ of these furnaces often contain from fifteen to twenty per cent. of metal. Fifteen miles inland, the secondary stratified formations predominate, and of these the old red sandstone is most common.

Coal has been discovered in five distinct localities, and has been reported to be "well adapted for steamers, having a low specific gravity, burns with a brilliant white flame, and leaves but a very small proportion of ashes." It appears to exist as a broken series of coal basins, the extent of which has not as yet been accurately defined. From a point of latitude, about 14° 45′ north, to the southern extremity of the province, the whole coast line is stanniferous, scarcely a stream within that space but has tin associated with the detritus of its bed. In some localities, pits have been sunk through the alluvium of the ancient stream courses, and the tin beds, varying from six to fourteen feet in depth, have been extensively worked.

A tin mining company with an extensive plant was established at Malewon, on the right bank of the Pak Chan river, just before I left Burma in 1871, by an enterprising merchant of Rangoon, Mr. James Strang Steel, and is, I am happy to hear, meeting with great success. Gold is present in the upper portion of the Lenya river, and is found in minute particles accompanying the stream tin ore,

and in the affluents of the Shwé-gyeen river, as indicated by its name. Both the ores of lead (galena), some of which contain a high per-centage of silver, and those of copper (chiefly sulphurets), are obtained to the northward, on both sides of the Salween river; as also those of plumbago and antimony. A mine of the sulphuret of antimony was worked near Maulmain some years ago, but did not meet with much success, the operations having been conducted without a practical knowledge of such undertakings.

The temperature of Burma, taking it all the year round, is much cooler than that of Bengal. It being more to the southward, the south-west monsoon sets in earlier, and the intense heat which immediately precedes the commencement of the rainy season, is consequently shorter. A sultry evening or night is of rare occurrence. In the lower portions of the province, owing to their proximity to the sea, there is generally a breeze; and in the upper also from the natural formation of the country in valleys. The seasons may be divided into two, the wet and the dry, or the south-west and north-east monsoons. The former commencing early in May, and ending in October, and the latter extending during the remaining period. The prevailing winds during the wet season blow from the south-west, and in the dry from the north-

east ; and these vary but slightly, being interrupted, at times only, by light land and sea breezes. The proverbial fickleness of the weather in northern climates is therefore unknown, and the changes may be predicted throughout the year.

The south-west wind brings with it from the equator a warm humid air, taking up in its passage across the Indian Ocean vast quantities of aqueous vapour, and being checked in its course by the hills running along the Tenasserim and Arakan coasts, deluge those parts of the country with torrents of rain,* which to those who have not experienced a rainy season before in the tropics, excite great astonishment. The rain descends from the lurid skies in dense sheets, accompanied with vivid lightning, and crashing peals of thunder, and during the paroxysms of the monsoon has an appearance, as if Heaven, in its justice, had deemed fit to immerse in a second cataclysm an impenitent world.

In the delta of the Irawadi, however, the rains are not so heavy as on the northern and southern

* The total fall of rain during 1870 (the year previous to my leaving Burma) was, at the sea-coast town of Maulmain, 184.6 inches, and at Thayet-myo, our northern frontier station in the delta of the Irawadi, 40.8 inches. The greatest amount of rain fell at Maulmain this year in the month of August, namely 59.2 inches. During January, February, March, April, November, and December, the six dry months of the year, the total fall was only 3.9 inches. The greatest amount of rain ever recorded as having fallen in any one day at Maulmain, was on May 27, 1857, when 12.97 inches were registered.

coasts; and in its northern part, which is somewhat sheltered from the influence of the south-west monsoon by the Arakan hills, the fall of rain, comparatively speaking, is scanty, and gradually decreases as you proceed further to the northward, till at a little above our frontier post at Meaday,* the south-west monsoon is marked by only occasional showers. Drought is sometimes experienced there, and in Upper Burma; but famines † proceeding from such—as in India—are happily unknown. Famines have occurred in Burma in former times, but are ascribed to devastating wars and political causes, rather than to soil or climate.

Along the coast the thermometer during the south-west monsoon ranges from 70° to 86° in the

* The derivation ascribed to this word is rather curious. It is stated in the Burmese Maha-Radza-Weng that as the two blind sons of the King of Tagoung, named Maha-tham-ba-wa and Tsoo-la-tham-ba-wa, were floating down the Irawadi upon a raft—on which they had been cast adrift by their mother from shame at their being born blind—and were passing the site of the present town of Meaday their eye-sight was suddenly restored to them by a Beloo-ma. On looking up and seeing the sky for the first time, they exclaimed, "The sky covers the earth like a tent," from which saying, in after times when a city was built there, it was called *Myé-dai* (earth-tent or cover). On dropping further down the river they met Bhe-da-ree, the adopted daughter of their uncle La-ba-da-na, who had deserted Tagoung some years previous and turned hermit. Maha-tham-ba-wa married Bhe-da-ree, and shortly after founded the city of Thare-Khet-ta-yu (the Pali name for Prome) and established the Burmese monarchy there. This latter event is said to have taken place in the year 60 of the Gautama era, or 486 B.C. The Burmese call Prome, Pyee, and the Talaings, Praun. We have derived our name of Prome from the latter.

† Famines in India, even in modern times, are very destructive. The most fatal one on record is that which happened in 1770, when ten out of twenty-five millions of the inhabitants of Bengal perished in consequence of the failure of the crops owing to drought. The present one is also very severe.

shade, and during the hottest part of the year, that is in March and April, rises occasionally as high as 95°. In the northern parts of Pegu, where the temperature is not affected by the sea breeze, the thermometer in the two seasons ranges to a maximum and minimum of 10° above and below what it registers on the coast. The greatest thermometric variations occur in the north-east monsoon when the thermometer is at its lowest range, 52°, extending as much as 34° frequently in the twenty-four hours.

No snow falls in British Burma; but at the commencement of the south-west monsoon there are occasional storms of hail. A phenomenon so striking as a fall of ice at the season of most intense atmospherical heat is surprising.* According to Professor Shavelly of Belfast, the rationale of its appearance on such occasions seems to be that as the sudden formation and descent of the first drops of rain, the air expanding and rushing into the void spaces, robs the succeeding drops of their caloric so effectually as to send them to the earth frozen into ice balls! Frost is, however, frequent during the middle of the north-east monsoon in the higher ranges of mountains. I remember on one occasion in the Yoonzaleen range, during the month of January, having to break the

* Sir J. E. Tennent's "Ceylon," vol. I., p. 70.

ice on the water of a tub standing in my tent, before I could bathe.

The climate is not inimical to the European constitution.* The British regiments and their detachments stationed at Rangoon and Maulmain on the coast, and at Thayet-myo and Toung-oo on the northern frontier, enjoy excellent health during their tour of service, which extends generally to four years. Their average mortality per thousand for the last few years has only been 18.21, a fourth of which the climate has no influence on. The most prevalent complaints are fever, dysentery, and hepatic diseases, from which the natives themselves are by no means free. The general sturdy and vigorous appearance of the latter, however, is the best criterion of the healthiness of the climate as regards them.

The surface of the country presents great variety, embracing rich alluvial valleys and fertile uplands, and perhaps no country in the world possesses a richer and more varied flora. Nature appears to

* The greatest evil that the British soldier has to contend against in the East is the facility of obtaining drink. I remember hearing of a soldier just arrived in a transport off Fort William, asking a fellow private—who had reached Calcutta in another vessel a few weeks previous—what kind of a quarter India was, and the reply was that "it is a fine country, lots to drink, and you are always dry." Though not a strict advocate myself for *total* abstinence, thinking, as I do, that the Word of God enjoins temperance and not total abstinence, I am glad, nevertheless, to see that "The Soldiers' Total Abstinence Association in India" is making steady progress. From an Indian periodical called "On Guard," I perceive the number of its members has risen to 8,600. The association was first established in 1862.

revel in the luxury of her charms, and imagination can hardly picture any scenery more beautiful and luxuriant. There are but few deciduous trees, and owing to the plentiful moisture during a great part of the year, and the warmth of the atmosphere, the plains are enamelled with a most exuberant vegetation and flowers of the brightest hues, while the mountains are clothed to their tops with perennial foliage of endless variety, bright with the verdure of perpetual spring.

An extraordinary fact connected with the flora of Burma, and which, I believe, has not yet been satisfactorily accounted for, is the growth of extra-tropical plants in the plains and on low hills that only appear on the opposite coast, and in India generally, on the mountains at an elevation of several thousand feet, and consequently in a much lower temperature.* Among these I may instance *Pinus longifolia*, growing in the Thoung-gyeen valley about three hundred feet above the level of the sea. *Garcinia pictoria*, which Roxburgh states grows on the highest parts of the Wynaad (about six thousand feet high), is found at the foot of the hills in the Tavoy district bordering on tidal waters.

* This peculiar mixture of tropical and temperate forms of vegetation has been attributed to the moisture of the climate; but in Upper Burma, where the same phenomena occur, the rainfall is much less, and the atmosphere drier, also, than it is in Bengal.

"Of the rose tribe, which includes the apples, cherries, and plums, Wight says there is not a single indigenous species in the plains of India, and that the species are peculiarly extra-tropical, a very few only being found within the tropics, and then at considerable elevations; but on the coast of Burma there is one indigenous species of rubus or bramble, another of *cerasus* or cherry, observed by Griffith, another of *pyrus* or pear, found by Wallich on the Irawadi, and I have myself seen a species of *pygeum* on an affluent of the Tenasserim river, within a short distance of the influence of the tide." * Many others could also be mentioned, but I will conclude with mentioning that the English brake (*Pteris aquilina*) abounds in the hills, and the silver fern of Kamptschatka (*Nothochlæna argentea*) is to be found growing on the walls of the old fort at Toung-oo.

Ornamental trees are in great abundance, and remarkable for their beauty. In the first rank must be placed the *Amherstia nobilis*. It is peculiar to British Burma, and grows to the height of forty feet when full grown. Nothing can be more graceful and beautiful than its slender pendulous branches, with their bright green foliage "draperied with large pea-blossom-shaped flowers of scarlet and gold,

* This quotation, as well as several of those following on Burmese botany, is derived from Dr. Mason's work on the "Natural Productions of Burma."

which hang down from its graceful arches in tassels more than a yard long."

It was first discovered near Trocla on the Salween river by Dr. Wallich, and named by him after Lady Amherst, the wife of the then Governor-General of India. Dr. Wallich says, "There can be no doubt that this tree when in foliage and blossom is the most strikingly superb object which can possibly be imagined. It is unequalled in the flora of the East, and I presume not surpassed in magnificence and elegance in any part of the world."

Its precise habitat was unknown until 1865, when it was discovered by the Rev. C. Parish growing wild on the banks of the Yoondzaleen river. From the fact of old trees of this species being found only in the vicinity of sacred places, it was for a long time supposed not to be indigenous, but to have been introduced by Buddhist pilgrims from the Shan States, or China. It is often found planted in company with the *Jonesia*, and which is called by the Burmese the wife of the *Amherstia*. The tree first discovered by Dr. Wallich was growing beside a *Jonesia;* and the symmetry and numerous graceful racemes of crimson and orange blossoms of the latter, well fit it for such companionship.

According to Klaproth, "Gautama was born under this tree; and within the fall of its shadow, and at the instant of his birth, he delivered his first

harangue. With the voice like the roaring of a lion he exclaimed, 'I am the most excellent of men. I am the most famous of men. I am the most victorious of men!'" This tree was called *Jonesia* in honour of Sir William Jones.

The fragrant gold-coloured blossom of the Champac (*Michelia champaca*) is a great favourite with the Burmese, as well as Indian women, for decking their hair, and has furnished Sanskrit, Persian and Burmese poets with many elegant allusions. Our own poet Moore, too, alludes thus to its flowers in "Lalla Rookh"* (tulip-cheek):—

> "The Maid of India, blest again to hold
> In her full lap the Champac's leaves of gold,
> Thinks of the time when, by the Ganges' flood
> Her little playmates scatter'd many a bud
> Upon her long black hair, with glossy gleam
> Just dripping from the consecrated stream."

The strong aromatic scent of the flowers is said to be offensive to bees, who are never seen on its blossoms. The Brahmins say that there is a blue variety, but it flowers only in Paradise. It is of the *Magnolia* species, and few Burmese gardens are without this tree.

One of the trees, however, that most readily attracts the eye of a stranger is the *Mesua*, or Gungau of the Burmese. It possesses in a peculiar

* "Poetical Works of Thomas Moore," p. 302.

degree the property, when changing its foliage—which is common, also, to other Burmese trees, but not to that extent—of throwing out fresh shoots, forming a perfect blaze of young crimson leaves. This takes place prior to the decay of the old leaves, which still remain vividly green, and while the tree, too, is in full flower. The blossom has beautiful ivory-white petals, with deep golden-coloured stamens, and the whole taken together has a most remarkable effect. The flowers possess a delicious odour, and have been placed by the Hindus in the quiver of Camadeva, the Indian Cupid. These flowers are also noticed by Moore in "Lalla Rookh:"—

> "And those sweet flowerets that unfold
> Their buds on Camadeva's quiver."

In the Sanskrit poem called Naishadba,* there is a wild but elegant couplet; where the poet compares the white corolla of the Nágacésara (Sanskrit name of the *Mesua*) from which the bees were scattering the pollen of the numerous gold-coloured anthers, to an alabaster wheel on which Camadeva was whetting his arrows, while sparks of fire were dispersed in every direction. These flowers are presented as new year's gifts by the Burmese, accompanied with wishes for "a happy new year."

* "Asiatic Researches," vol. iv., Calcutta, 1795.

And the tree itself is much venerated by them, as it is recorded in the Buddhist scriptures that Aramăitrīya, the coming Buddh, and the fifth and last of the present dispensation, will enter upon divine life while musing beneath its hallowed shade.

The palms are well represented in Burma, and of which, I believe, there are twenty different species, viz. *Cocos*, 1; *Areca*, 2; *Borassus*, 2; *Corypha*, 2; *Phœnix*, 3; *Livistona*, 1; *Macroladus*, 1; *Licuala*, 2; *Calamus*, 5; and *Calamosagus*, 1. The cocoanut (*Cocos*), areca (*Areca catechu*), and palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*) are more generally diffused than any of the others.

The cocoanut is a most invaluable tree, its stems, leaves, and fruit being turned to innumerable uses. It flourishes best on or near the sea shore, and experience has shown that both its growth and produce diminish where not under the influence of the sea breeze. The *Areca catechu* grows to the height of fifty feet, with an elegant, straight, smooth stem, about twenty inches in circumference, and of equal thickness throughout. It is cultivated for the sake of its nuts, which appear in clusters amidst its crown of feathery foliage. The nuts have an austere and astringent flavour, and are universally chewed in Burma and in India, mixed with lime, and the leaf of the betel pepper. The mixture of the three substances when masticated, stains the lips and

saliva a deep red colour. It is esteemed a great luxury, and is believed, also, to be a good tonic and prophylactic.

The leaves of the palmyra as well as the corypha (*Corypha umbraculifera*) are used as substitutes for paper,* and are very large, more especially the latter, which are divided into many rays, and are often fifteen feet in diameter and eighteen feet long, exclusive of the stalk. The Buddhist sacred books† are chiefly composed of these leaves, written upon with a steel style. They are also largely used for fans by the Buddhist priests; and are borne by the followers of chiefs and head-men as portions of their paraphernalia on occasions of ceremony. Sir William Jones, speaking of the former palm, says, "This

* Sir Emerson Tennent in his "History of Ceylon," vol. i., p. 110, thus describes the process as pursued by the Ceylonese in preparing these leaves. It is similar to that pursued by the Burmese, who probably first learnt it from them. "The leaves are taken whilst still tender, and, after separating the central ribs, they are cut into strips and boiled in spring water. They are first dried in the shade, and afterwards in the sun, then made into rolls, and kept in store, or sent to market for sale. Before they are fit for writing upon they are subjected to a second process, called *Madema*. A smooth plank of areca-palm is tied horizontally between two trees, each leaf is then damped, and, a weight being attached to one end of it, it is drawn backwards and forwards across the edge of the wood till the surface becomes perfectly smooth and polished; and during the process, as the moisture dries up, it is necessary to renew it till the effect is complete. The smoothing of a single leaf will occupy from fifteen to twenty minutes."

† In the Arabian manuscript of Albyroum, who wrote his account of India in the tenth century, he describes a tree in the south of the Dekkan resembling the date or cocoanut palm, on the leaves of which the natives wrote, and passing a cord through the centre formed books. These leaves, he says, were a cubit in length, and three finger-breadths wide, and, according to him, were called târy. This might be taken as a description of the Burmese books in use at the present day.

magnificent palm is justly considered the king of its order, which the Hindus call 'trina druma,' or grass-trees. It is much esteemed for its vinous sap, and the sugar extracted from it.

"The mode of obtaining the sap is by crushing the young inflorescence and amputating the upper half; the lower is then tied to a leafstalk, and has an earthen pot attached to its end, which gradually fills with sap, and is removed every morning; when replaced a fresh slice is cut from the wounded end of the inflorescence—an operation which is repeated daily until the whole of the raceme is sliced away. In procuring the sugar exactly the same process is followed, but the inside of the receiver is powdered with lime, which prevents fermentation taking place; the juice is afterwards boiled down, and finally dried by exposure to smoke in little baskets, and in this form it is sold in Burma under the name of tan-lyet. The female tree produces three or four times as much sap as the male, and a good healthy one is said to furnish some three quarts a day, which is continued for about five months."

The pith of the trunk of *Corypha umbraculifera* also furnishes a sort of flour from which a kind of bread is made; but it is not held in much esteem. This palm attains to the height often of one hundred feet. It only flowers once and then dies. The flower is not unlike that of the Yucca or Adam's

needle in shape, but very much larger. It issues from the apex of the tree and centre of the leaves, forming an immense ovate panicle of about twenty feet or more in height, and is a very grand object. The first bursting of its closely crowded spike or spadix is accompanied with a loud explosion.

Burma abounds with esculent fruits, which, unlike northern regions, with their tedious winter and "cœlum nebulis fœdum" that bring forth few to maturity until autumn, are distributed in plenty throughout the whole year. Pine-apples and plantains (*Musa paradisiaca*) are amongst the most abundant. The former are cultivated to a great extent near large towns. Early in the morning, on the roads leading to Rangoon, carts loaded with them, like turnips in England, may be seen wending their way to market. They grow to great perfection, and are sold at the rate of four for a penny, and even cheaper.

The plantain may be pronounced the staple fruit of the country, and is in constant succession all the year round. There are at least thirty varieties, some of which are used as dessert fruit, and others cooked as a vegetable.

The mangosteen (*Garcinia mangostana*) and the dorian (*Durio zibethinus*) are peculiar to the Indo-Chinese peninsula and the Malay Archipelago. They appear only to flourish in the climate of

"India aquosa," as this part of the world is called by old writers, and are not found northward of the equator, or on the continent of India. "Malaya's nectared mangosteen," Marsden says, "is perhaps the most delicate fruit in the world." It is about the size of a moderately large orange, spherical in shape, with a thick, smooth, dark red rind, crowned with the permanent peltate six to eight-lobed stigma. Enclosing the seeds is a delicious white pulp, which, from its dissolving freely in the mouth, has been compared to "perfumed snow." The rind is very astringent, and its decoction is used in dysentery and other diseases.

The dorian is regarded with peculiar favour by the natives, and I may say generally so also with Europeans resident in the country, though, *chacun à son goût*, I must confess I am not partial to the fruit myself. A friend of mine (Colonel J. P. Briggs), who was a great enthusiast regarding it, writes thus of the fruit: "It is so rich and highly-flavoured, that it resembles marrow rather than fruit, and is subject when ripe to speedy decomposition, when its odour becomes disagreeable, a circumstance which has made it disliked by some who have not been enabled, by the locality in which they reside, to eat the fruit fresh from the tree. Everyone who has had this advantage, on the other hand declare it to be beyond question the finest

fruit in the world; and though few eat it the first season of their residence in the country, they afterwards become so fond of it, that they never tire of its flavour—never grow weary of speaking in its praise."

The fruit, which is the size of a large melon, is covered with sharp spikes, and has been compared to a rolled-up hedgehog. It divides into several lobes, filled with seeds about the size of a bantam's egg, enveloped in a rich white cream-like pulp, which latter forms the edible portion of the fruit. The odour of this substance, Rumphius, in describing the fruit, compares "to that of onions in a state of putrefaction"—but he, possibly, as Colonel Briggs would say, could not have met with the fruit in its *fresh state.*

The tree will not grow in Upper Burma, and before our annexation of Pegu, the Kings of Burma used to have this odoriferous fruit despatched to Ava from Martaban by horse post. In 1862, when I was Commissioner of the Tenasserim and Martaban provinces, the present King of Burma sent his steam yacht to me at Moulmein for a cargo of dorians, and which I procured for him, but they did not stand the voyage, and but few, I afterwards heard, reached the palace in sound condition.

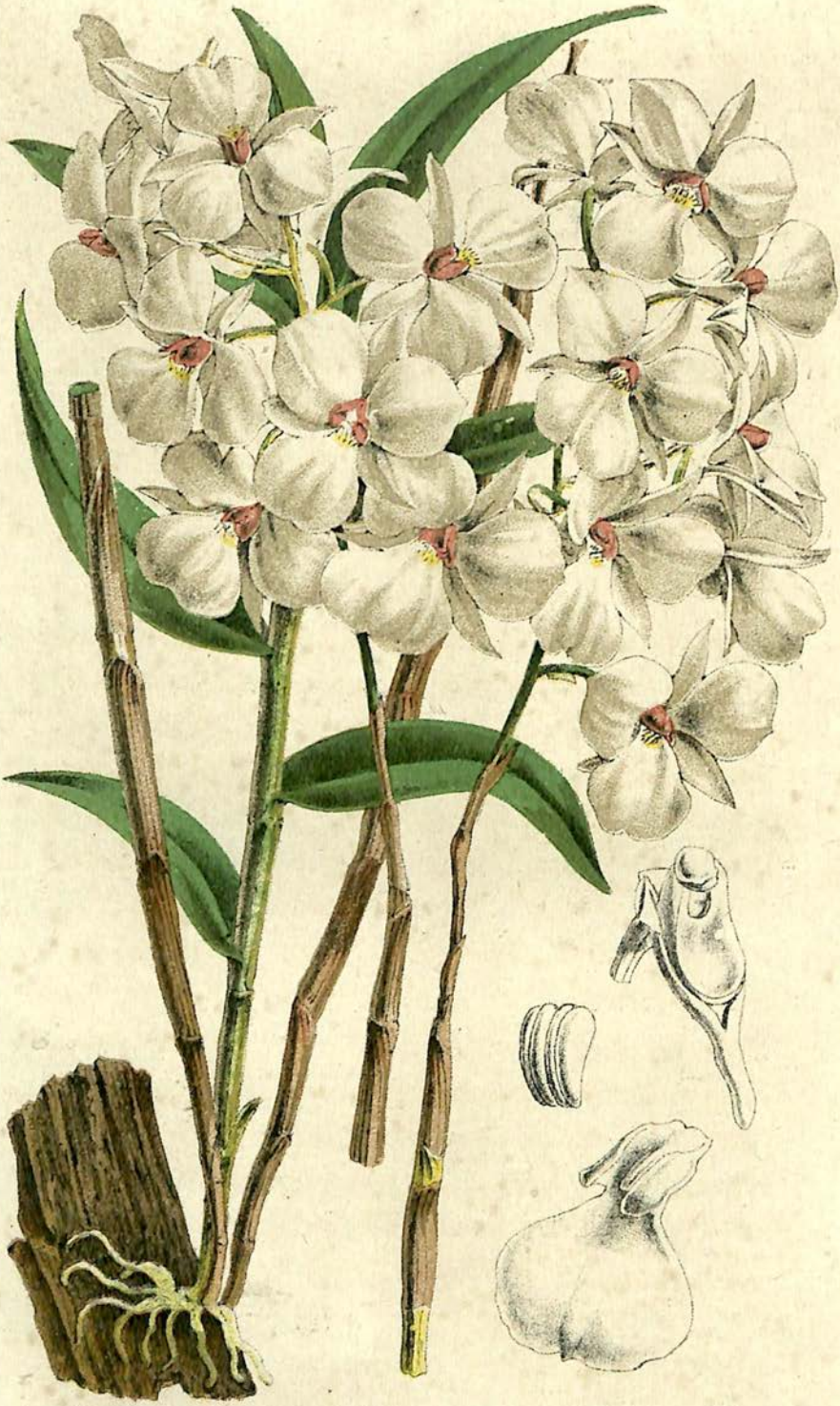
The Kana-tso-thee (*Pierardia sapota*) is an elegant tree, and bears long golden bunches of

fruit, in shape resembling grapes. The fruit has a very agreeable sub-acid flavour when ripe, and in its green state is pickled and used like olives. Besides the above fruits, mangoes, oranges, limes, citrons, and all fruits common to the continent of India and the Eastern Archipelago, are produced in Burma.

The wonderful luxuriance of the vegetation in the vast forests of Burma, and the great variety of creepers, lianes, epiphytes, and parasites which abound is very striking. There is scarcely a tree to be found without some of them upon it. With one remarkable exception, however, and to which no plant can attach itself to, and that is *Homatium tomentosum*, called by the Burmese "Myouk-Kyau-beng," or monkey-slipping tree, because not even a monkey can climb it, owing to its smooth bark being covered with a white slippery pulverulent substance, not unlike French chalk, which comes off on the slightest touch. It grows to the height of about eighty feet, with a straight stem, destitute of branches to a considerable height.

With this single exception it is sometimes difficult to discover the tree that supports them, owing to the mass of verdure* and cortical lichens which

* Amongst this verdure the green drapery of the grass fern (*Vittania graminifolia*) *Polypodium quercifolium*, *Aroideæ*, *Lomaria scandens*, *Epidendreæ*, *Vandeæ*, *Drynaria quercifolia*, *Loranthus pentandrus*, and the various kinds of *Echites*, *Æschynanthus*, *Hoya*, *Hedychium* are very conspicuous.



DENDROBIUM FYTCHIANUM.

cover their trunks and branches. The forks, hollows, and boughs of the trees are often loaded and festooned with those beautiful epyphytes the ferns and orchids, of which there are great varieties, more especially of the *Dendrobiæ*, one very beautiful new variety of which I discovered, and was named after me. The leaves of this Dendrobium are of a slender linear shape, and the flowers, which are an inch across, are of the most dazzling whiteness, except that the small lateral lobes are tinged with crimson. They are borne in graceful racemes a span long, proceeding from the extremity of the upright stems, the latter being about a foot in length, and of the thickness of a goosequill. It is figured on the opposite page, and a description of it from the "Botanical Magazine," 1864, Tab. 5,444, is given below.*

Many of the creepers are of gigantic size, some exceeding even a foot in diameter. They twist themselves around the trunks, scramble over the branches, and run over the tops of the largest trees, linking them together in a maze of living network above, and from the huge festoons they throw down often form an almost impenetrable tangle below.

* *Dendrobium Fytchianum:* Caulibus erectis cylindricis vaginatis, foliis remotis, oblongo lanceolatis, racemis terminalibus strictis multifloris, perianthium explanatum album, sepalis lanceolatis, petalis latissime obovatis, labello tribolo, basi barbatulo, lobis lateralibus parvis oblongis incurvis purpureo-roseis, intermedio latissime obcordato apiculato integerrimo petalorum magnitudine, calcare obtuso breviusculo.

One, *Entada Pursætha*, has immense pods, five feet long and upwards, and six inches broad, containing large brown beans, used by the Burmese in one of their favourite games;* they also enter into the native Materia Medica as a febrifuge.

Another conspicuous species, *Pothos gigantea*, has enormous leaves two feet long, and one and a half foot broad. A creeper, called by the Burmese Tshalay, a species of *Daphne*, grows also to a large size. From the bark of this creeper the Burmese prepare the paper, or rather thin card-board, of their paraboiks. The surface of the card-board is blackened, and written upon with a steatite pencil; and the paraboik is made to open backwards and forwards, in the shape a map is sometimes folded, and forms the common memorandum, or account book, in use in the country.

A scandent Bauhinia (*Bauhinia scandens*) is curious from the contorted and writhing appearance of its stem, and is said by Loudon to have been the origin of Esculapius' snaken rod, which he brought from India. Other climbers of less dimensions, such as *Butea superba*, *Congea velutina*, and *Thunbergia laurifolia*, are beautiful for their flowers.

* The game is played by fixing a line of these seeds in the ground; a seed is then spun at them, which from the peculiar twist given to it forms a kind of parabolic curve; and a skilful player often succeeds in knocking down the whole line in one spin. The player who knocks down the most in a certain number of spins wins the game.

These three species are almost ubiquitous, and flower all the year round.

The canes or rattans belonging to the Calamus genus are mostly ground creepers. One of this species, which I traced along the ground, measured upwards of three hundred feet long, was about three inches in circumference, and had no leaves except a small tuft at its extremity These canes are used for dragging timber, rigging boats, and other purposes where hemp or coir ropes are employed; and the smaller ones as ties for matting, making baskets, caning the bottoms of chairs, and other such work.

The undergrowth is most abundant. Varieties of the following genera are most richly represented, and are chiefly evergreen, namely:—*Barringtoniaceæ*, *Cinchonaceæ*, *Duonacieæ*, *Euphorbiaceæ*, *Jasminaceæ*, *Lauraceæ*, *Leguminoseæ*, *Graminaceæ*, *Milvaceæ*, *Myrsinaceæ*, and *Rubiaceæ*. The most extensively diffused under-wood, however, is the well-known Bamboo (Order *Graminaceæ*). It appears to flourish everywhere, irrespective of site or soil, and from the various uses it can be put to occupies a most important place in the domestic economy of the people, and is doubtless one of the most valuable productions of nature to the natives of the countries where it grows. Its stems form the chief material in houses, boats, and furniture, and it

would be difficult to find an object requiring strength and elasticity, combined with lightness, for which it is not adapted.

These stems are, properly speaking, the branches of the plant, and are "pushed forth by a strong, jointed, subterranean, creeping rootstock, which is the true trunk of the Bamboo."* When first they appear they resemble asparagus sprouts, but having a sharp point, and are much relished as articles of food. These sprouts are most rapid in their growth, and in one variety, *Bambusa gigantea*, has been known, according to Dr. Mason, to grow eighteen inches in twenty-four hours. The bamboo grows in clumps, and its feathery green foliage waves in the wind like plumes of feathers. I have Burmese names for forty different varieties. Their mean height is about thirty feet; but one variety, the Wa-bo or *Bambusa gigantea*, alluded to above, attains the height of one hundred feet, each joint ranging from twenty to twenty-four inches in length, and as much as thirty-six inches in circumference.

Amongst some of the hill tribes in India, worship is offered to the bamboo, as an impersonation or representative of the Deity of the forest. One tribe (described by Dr. Balfour in his interesting article published in Jameson's "Edinburgh Journal," No. LXIX. for 1843), a migratory tribe of "Athletæ,"

* Roxburgh, "Flora Indica," vol. ii.

called the Bhatoos, worship the bamboo, with which their principal feats are performed, as their chief.

Dr. Balfour says that on the summit of a hill, near Kittoor, in the Bombay Presidency, is erected the shrine of their patron Goddess Karewa, an incarnation of Mahadeva. The hill is surrounded by a dense forest of bamboo. From this forest a bamboo stem is selected, and the attendants of the temple consecrate it. After which it is called "Gunnichari" (Chief), and receives their worship annually. To it, as to a human chief, all respect is shown; and in cases of marriage, of disputes requiring arbitration, or the occurrence of knotty points demanding consultation, the Gunnichari is erected in the midst of the counsellors or arbiters, and all prostrate themselves to it previous to commencing the discussion of the subject before them.

Of timber trees the Teak (*Tectona grandis*)* is the most valuable, both for export and domestic use; and as it forms, after rice, the most important staple product of the country, calls for rather a lengthy description. I know, myself, of only four species of teak in Burma, Kywn pharoon (Pumpkin teak), Kywn kyouk (Rock teak), Kywn-pho (Male teak),

* A genus of plants belonging to the natural order *Verbenaceæ*. It is characterized by having a 5–6 toothed calyx, which becomes inflated over the growing pericarp; corolla 1-petalled, 5–6 cleft; stamens 5, but often 6; germ superior, 4-celled; cells 1-seeded, attachment central; drupe obtusely 4-sided woolly, spongy, dry, hid in the calyx. Nut hard, 4-celled. Seed solitary; embryo erect without perisperm.

and Kywn-noo (Leprous teak). The Burmese say there are several other varieties, and, I believe, as many as *twenty*, obtained from various localities, and arranged according to their density, were displayed by the Naval Department of the East India Company at the Great Exhibition of 1851.

The first, the true *Tectona grandis*, is by far the most abundant, and comes to maturity in about eighty years. It attains a girth of twelve to sixteen feet, with a bole of eighty to ninety feet to the head of the branches, and splendid baulks of sixty feet in length, and as much as twenty-four inches square, are frequently shipped from Maulmain. The wood is of a light brown colour, and amongst its other valuable properties contains a resinous oil, which preserves iron from rust, and resists the action of water, as well as of insects. It is quickly seasoned, and easily worked, and from its combined strength, elasticity, and endurance, is known as the most valuable timber for ship building in the world. Its specific gravity is on an average about 0·720.

The second variety is a closer grained wood, much harder and darker, takes double the time to come to maturity, and does not, even then, attain the size of the first. These—more especially the former—are the chief varieties exported. The two other varieties are mostly used for house building in the country itself, and for furniture. The Kywn-noo

has a peculiar knotty appearance and wavy grain, and is well adapted for the latter purpose.

Teak does not grow in large continuous masses, but, as described by Dr. McClelland,* is diffused throughout the general forest in the proportion of about one to five hundred of other trees. In what are called the teak forests, strictly speaking, it is found in the proportion of about one to three hundred, not equally diffused, but confined to certain localities of small extent where it constitutes the prevailing tree for a few hundred yards, seldom for a mile continuously.

It is in the hill forests alone that teak appears to perfection. It is chiefly found on the southern and western declivities, where it is exposed to a strong sun. On the open and exposed ridges it becomes scarce, and it disappears altogether on the northern sides of the hills. It is this peculiar partiality it exhibits for the southern and western slopes, together with the time of year it seeds, that renders the distribution of teak so partial and limited.

Its immediate associates in the forests are chiefly *Spondia acuminata*, *Swietenia chaplas*, *Dalbergia robusta*, and *D. emarginata*, *Blackwellia propinqua*, and *B. spirale*, *Shorea robusta*, *Strychnos*, *Hopea odorata*, *Inga xylocarpa*, *Lagerstrœmia*, *Fagræa*

* "Report on the Teak forests of Pegu," by Dr. McClelland, 1854.

fragrans, Sterculia alata, Phyllanthus, Terminalia scevola, T. bellerica; all large timber, rivalling the teak itself in magnitude, and far outnumbering it in quantity.

The soil of the teak forests presents the same uniformity as the geological structure. In the hill, forests where the best teak is found, the soil is a grey, stiff, sandy clay, derived from the dark slaty sand-stone and slate clay, the particles passing downwards into comminuted slaty rhomboidal fragments.

Teak is a tree of rapid growth when placed in a favourable soil. The first year the seedling attains the height of twelve inches, throwing out two large leaves; the second year it springs up to the height of three or four feet, after which it goes on increasing rapidly, and bears seed in the eighth year of its growth, when it has attained the height of twenty-five feet and upwards.

It is remarkable for its very large leaves, which are from ten to twenty inches in length, and eight to sixteen in breadth; these, as also its yellowish white flowers, are produced in great masses in the rainy season—but the foliage is very deciduous, and by the month of February little of it remains on the tree. The leaves, which have been compared by oriental writers to elephants' ears, in their fallen state strew the ground very thickly, and are

very brittle. Stalking game in such cover is a difficult matter, rendering silent walking almost impossible, and as Captain Forsyth's * facetious friend expressed it, in a very unnecessary whisper when they were trying to creep up to a stag—"'tis like walking on tin boxes."

The seeds are produced after the rainy season, and are contained in a hard shell, which requires both considerable moisture and heat to decompose them. The teak tree therefore loses nearly a whole season in its propagation, and in its early stages is at great disadvantage "in the struggle for existence" with other giants of the forest, and the luxuriant jungle under-growth, which almost invariably shed their seeds at the commencement of the rains, and sprout almost immediately on reaching the ground.

The area of forests reserved by the State in the Province in 1875-76 was 392,793 acres, 335,880 of which contained teak. The produce from these teak reserves delivered at the central depôts during that year was 46,597 tons, which realized at public auction an average of £3 18*s.* per ton. The quantity imported from Upper Burma, the Shan States, and Karennee amounted to 165,913 tons, and the total of British and foreign teak timber exported from the Province was 162,164 tons.

The other most important timber trees, and

* "The Highlands of Central India," by Captain Forsyth.

which are most plentiful throughout all parts of the forests, are those already mentioned as commonly associated with teak.

The *Shorea robusta*, the Eng-ghyeng of the Burmese, and in Sanskrit, Sâl, is abundant both in Burma, and in the forests of the Indian Continent. In India, it is considered one of the best timber trees; and every species of this family, of which there are several, affords valuable timber. According to the Southern Buddhists, it was in a forest of these trees, that Queen Maia, when on her way to visit her relations in the country of Dewah, was delivered of the infant Gautama.

Inga xylocarpa, the iron wood, is a very hard durable wood. It grows very lofty and straight, and is chiefly used for house posts. Three species nearly allied to the Sissoo of India, namely *Dalbergia robusta*, *D. emarginata*, and *D. frondosa*, yield very tough wood, valuable for gun carriages.

Diospyros melanoxylon, or ebony, occurs plentifully from fifteen to eighteen inches in diameter, and fifty to seventy feet long.

Lagerstræmia, next to teak, is perhaps in greater request than any other timber for ship building, and for various economic purposes.

Strychnos Nux-vomica is a hard, tough, useful wood. It is characterised by its oval shining leaves, and its fruit, which, when ripe, is the size and colour

of an orange. From the seeds of this fruit, the deadly alkaloid poison strychnine is extracted; but the pulpy substance in which they are enveloped, and that forms the nux vomica of commerce, is perfectly harmless, and is a favourite repast with native children. Snake charmers eat the fresh seeds in small quantities without any ill effect, believing them to be a prophylactic against serpent's venom.

Fagræa fragrans, which also belongs to this tribe, yields an excellent timber. The Burmese regard it as too good for the laity, and say it ought to be confined solely to sacerdotal purposes. It is used frequently for the posts of Buddhist monasteries, and other religious edifices.

Hopea odorata, though scarce in Pegu, is very plentiful in the southern portions of the province, where it is considered the most valuable indigenous tree. It grows to a very large size, and is the timber from which boats are chiefly constructed; the large solid cart-wheels in use by the Burmese are made from it; as also oil and sugar-cane presses.

Dipterocarpus lævis, and *D. turbinatus*, two varieties of the wood-oil tree, produce a useful sound timber, which, sawn into planks, is used for house building; but their chief value consists in the oil they produce. A triangular excavation, the base of which is about eighteen inches, is made in the boll

of the tree, a fire is then lighted therein, that causes the oil to flow freely into an earthen vessel suspended to collect it.

According to Dr. Helfer, a single tree will produce from thirty to forty gallons in a season without injury. The oil is identical in its chemical and medicinal properties, with that of the balsam copaiva. The Burmese distinguish the species as Kanyeng-nee, and K.-phyoo, red and white Kanyeng. Torches and the best charcoal are made from their wood. It grows with a straight smooth stem to a height of one hundred and eighty feet, with a girth of sixteen feet. The immense buttressing of the stems of this and other species of trees, especially where they grow on hill slopes, is very noteworthy. Trees of sixteen feet girth, a short distance from the ground, may have a girth of fifty feet close to its surface.

CHAPTER VI.

AGRICULTURE, MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AND FINANCE.

Landed proprietors in the plains.—Great fertility of the soil.—Mode of tillage.—Toung-ya or hill cultivation.—Staple cereal, rice.—Export of rice.—Cargo rice.—Other principal products, cotton sesamum, sugar, tobacco, and indigo.—Tea.—Coffee.—Average yield of the different kinds of crops.—Average rate of rent per acre.—Cinchona plant introduced into the province.—Silk and cloth manufactures.—Lacquered ware of the Burmese.—Gold and silversmiths' work.—The tools employed.—Painting and knowledge of perspective.—Steam rice and saw mills.—Manufacture of salt.—Import of salt.—Manufacture of paraffine from petroleum.—The petroleum wells.—How sunk.—Machinery used in extracting the oil.—Sericulture.—Catechu or Terra Japonica.—How manufactured.—Its uses.—Manufactory of shellac.—Burmese love of bells and gongs.—The large bell at Mengoon.—Fine tone of their bells and gongs.—A peculiar triangular one used on "worship days."—Population of British Burma.—Gross revenue receipts, imperial, provincial, and municipal.—Incidence of taxation.—Expenditure on provincial administration.—Surplus for Imperial purposes.—Value of seaborne and inland exports and imports.—Compares very favourably with that of India.—Great future of the province.

OCCUPIED land in the plains is an allodial possession held by small peasant proprietors, whose holdings, on an average, do not exceed ten acres. The fertility of the soil is most exuberant. The implements employed in tillage are ploughs and harrows; and, with the exception of the ploughshare, which is generally iron, are all composed of wood. They are drawn by a couple of oxen or of buffaloes, the former used on dry light soil, and the latter where

it is wet and heavy. They commonly scarify the land with a harrow before ploughing, to remove the weeds; but their whole system of agriculture is generally very rude.

In the mountains the people have no fixed abodes. They practise a wasteful mode of tillage called *toung-ya*, which consists in clearing a fresh patch of forest each year, and burning the timber, the ashes of which serve as manure. They change the site of their villages at uncertain intervals, as the soil of the surrounding country becomes exhausted.

The staple cereal of the province is rice, of which 2,379,001 acres were under cultivation during 1875-76. A great stimulus has been given to its cultivation in Burma (where, as previously stated, drought is unknown), by the abnormal demand caused by the late famines in India, and the exceptional high prices this grain consequently demands.

Except in special years, like the present (1877), when famine prevails in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies, almost the entire quantity of rice available for export is sent to foreign countries. The export* of rice, from the province during 1875–76 was 653,803 tons, of which 551,344 tons were shipped to the United Kingdom. Of this quantity, however, it is calculated about seven-sixteenths of the shipments are disposed of on the Continent, the quantity

* "Report on the Trade and Navigation of British Burma" for 1875-6.

cleared for the United Kingdom being sent to Falmouth and other channel ports for orders, whence it is diverted to France, Germany, etc. The grain is shipped to Europe as "five-part cargo rice," which is supposed to be by *measurement*, four parts of husked to one of unhusked; but it usually contains a larger portion of clean rice than that named.

The other principal products are cotton, sesamum (oil-seeds), sugar, tobacco, and indigo. Wheat is grown abundantly in Upper Burma; but it is only cultivated to a very small extent in our territories. Tea exists in a wild state in the hill tracts, and is cultivated in plantations on the slopes of the hills in the northern part of Arakan. The tea from the Kolapansang estate has been pronounced to be of excellent quality. Coffee, though as yet only grown in small patches, thrives remarkably well. In former times Pegu cotton used to be in great request for the manufacture of the celebrated Indian muslins at Dacca. But since these manufactures have become nearly extinct, what is not now used in the native looms of the province, is exported to England, or to China by the overland route, *viâ* Bhamo.

The average yield of rice is 1,400 lbs. per acre. The cultivation of cotton seems marvellously productive on the hill slopes of northern Arakan, the crops averaging 1,200 lbs. per acre, while the general average of the province is so low as 456. The yield

of tobacco is about 461 lbs., of sugar 1,290, of indigo 265, of oil-seeds 704, and of tea 350. The general average rate of rent throughout the province for rice land is 2*s.* 9*d.* per acre, and the price of grain in the province itself is quoted last year at 4*s.* 8½*d.* the maund of eighty pounds. The average rate of rent for the other products mentioned is 4*s.* 3½*d.* per acre.

The cinchona plant was introduced into the province, during my term of office, from Ootacamund, in the Madras Presidency, and a plantation formed at Plumadoe in the Toung-oo district, and which, according to latest accounts, is progressing very satisfactorily. The seedlings planted in 1871. are annually measured, and record is kept of their increase in height and girth. They averaged last year twelve feet and one foot in these respective dimensions.

The principal manufactures in British Burma are silks, putsoes, hta-meins, that is, waistcloths for men, and petticoats for women, which are woven chiefly in Arakan and Tenasserim, and in the Prome district of Pegu, at Prome, and Shwé-doung on the Irawadi, ten miles south of Prome, and here also good cotton cloths and twist are made. Manchester imports are gradually displacing home-made cloth; but the native silk manufacture, notwithstanding its patterns having been imitated to suit

Burmese taste, still holds its own, and is infinitely preferred for strength of fabric, and the permanence and beauty of its dyes. The Burmese have a keen sense of the harmonies of colour and design, and their festal costumes especially indicate the gaiety and vivacity of the national temperament.

In the Prome district good lacquered ware is manufactured, fine cane and bamboo work being covered with a red and yellow, or black and yellow lacquer, on which fanciful and sometimes elegant designs are traced.

The *repoussé* gold and silver work of the Burmese is very beautiful and finished in execution: and their ivory and wood carvings in clear and bold *alto rilievo* are clear and artistic in composition and design.

The effect which can be produced in both arts by the few and rough tools employed is extraordinary. The bellows used by jewellers, and workers in metals other than gold and silver, consist of a couple of wooden cylinders, their diameters being proportioned to the force required. The cylinders are fitted with pistons, alternately raised and depressed by one or two men, and the air, forced out at an aperture in the lower end of the apparatus, is conducted into the fire by an iron tube. By means of these bellows, they are enabled to melt the hardest metals.

Painting is in a very rude state, the knowledge

of perspective being very imperfect. They understand and can appreciate, however, good painting, which capacity is totally wanting in the natives of India.*

The most important mills† in the country are those employed in the seaport towns for the cleaning of rice, and for the sawing of timber. There are now forty-five steam rice mills in the province, which are mainly worked for the preparation of cargo rice; but machinery for polishing the grain has also been introduced, and it is hoped that a trade in clean white rice will be shortly opened. The majority of the timber mills are at Maulmain, but there are several at Rangoon also.

The manufacture of salt used to be carried on to a considerable extent on the sea coast during the former rule of the Burmese, but during our occupation of the province has fallen off to a considerable extent, being displaced by English salt, which is sold at a less price than that of local manufacture. A large portion of this imported salt finds its way to Upper Burma, and into China and the Shan States *viâ* Bhamo. It is a trade of

* There is a good story told of an old Indian Judge, rather proud of his personal appearance, who, on showing to his Sherishtadar (head native judicial officer) a likeness of himself painted in oils, and asking him what it resembled, received the reply that it was "either the painting of a tiger or a monkey, but which he could not say."

† These statistics and those following are taken from the "Report on the Administration of British Burma," for 1875-76.

great importance, as it not only gives freight to ships coming to the province to load with rice, many of which have to come in ballast, but has also the effect of compelling the Chinese who come for salt to bring articles of Chinese manufacture for sale at Bhamo. The bulk of the imports consists of fine-grained salt from Liverpool, and is used for domestic purposes. From Trepani, in Sicily, a few cargoes of coarse-grained product are received, which is utilised in the preparation of ngapee and salted fish.

A manufactory for the preparation of refined burning oil from earth oil, or petroleum, produced in Upper Burma, and for the manufacture of candles from the paraffine extracted from the crude oil, has been in operation in Rangoon for some time, and has been fairly successful. Considerable quantities of this burning oil are exported to Calcutta and the Straits of Malacca, and the candles are used locally.

This petroleum is obtained from wells in the vicinity of Ye-nan-Khyoung, a town on the Irawadi, about sixty miles beyond our frontier. On my way to Mandalay I visited these wells. They are situated on a plateau, in two groups, about two miles apart, upon the northern and southern sides of the town: the former, and most productive, contains ninety, and the latter sixty wells, all in

working order. The wells are sunk indifferently on the level top of the plateau, or the sloping sides of its ravines, and are formed by sinking frames of wood, composed of beams of *Mimosa Catechu*, in shafts of four and a half feet square, and varying in depth from 180 to 320 feet. The strata through which the shafts pass appear to be reddish brown sandstones, blackish shales, and thin irregular patches of coaly matter, after which a yellow clay, strongly impregnated with sulphur, is struck, through which the oil gushes. The yield of the wells varies from 250 to 1,400 lbs. daily, and the total annual produce of all of them is estimated at about 12,000 tons.

The machinery used for extracting the oil is a cross beam supported on two stanchions. Above the cross beam, in its centre, is fixed a revolving drum for a drag rope, to which is appended an earthen pot, that is let down into the oil, and then hauled up full by two men walking down an inclined plane by the side of the well. The oil is raised daily in the early morning, and after the quantity has been extracted, which it is known by experience the well should yield, it is left to accumulate until the following day. The petroleum when first taken out of the well has a green colour, with a strong pungent aromatic odour, and is of the consistence of cream.

The wells are private property, and have been in the joint possession of the same families for many years. They do not allow any wells to be dug in the vicinity by interlopers, and by mutual agreement no well can be sold or mortgaged except to a proprietor. A royalty of five per cent. on the value of the produce is exacted at present; but this varies in amount according to the exigences or caprice of the reigning monarch.

All the silk used in local silk manufacture is produced in the country. It is a coarse strong silk, and whether its coarseness is inherent in the nature of the worm, or the rough methods pursued when reeled off the cocoon, is doubtful; but however this may be, it is highly esteemed by the Burmese, and admirably adapted for the purpose required. The cocoons are placed in boiling water previous to being reeled off, involving the death of the chrysalis, and were it not for the strong Buddhistic prejudice against the taking of life, sericulture would be more extensively followed than it is, as the employment is an easy and lucrative one, and the mulberry plant grows luxuriantly almost everywhere in the country.

Orthodox Buddhists look upon the calling with horror, and the people who follow it as outcasts. From this feeling, the silk-growers, from time immemorial, have resided in villages by themselves, hold-

ing little social intercourse with their neighbours, and though of pure Burmese origin, have come to be regarded as a distinct tribe, and are called Yābein. A pound of this silk sells for about twelve shillings.

Catechu, or *Terra japonica*, an inspissated, brown, astringent substance, obtained by decoction and evaporation from the heartwood of *Mimosa Catechu*, is manufactured in considerable quantities in the Prome district for exportation to Europe. It is a similar product to gambier, procured by boiling the young shoots and leaves of the *Uncaria gambier*, a large climbing shrub, with hard woody hooks, or recurved spines, grown largely in the Straits of Malacca. Both are used for the same purposes, and bear the same market value. Their use is chiefly for tanning and dyeing, but they are also said to be largely employed for the adulteration of various articles of commerce, one of them being *tea*. As they appear in commerce they resemble small masses of earth, breaking with a dull fracture, and were formerly supposed to be a species of earth obtained in Japan, and they hence got the name of Terra Japonica.

The extract from the *Mimosa Catechu* is obtained as follows :—At the close of the rainy season, when the sap has fully risen, the tree is cut down and barked, the outer white wood removed, and the

heartwood cut up into chips, and placed in narrow-mouthed earthen pots filled with water, which is boiled down to half its original quantity; it is then put for further evaporation in shallow iron vessels placed in the sun, and frequently turned. As it becomes dry, it is transferred to cloths, cut into square pieces, and when thoroughly hard is fit for market. The tree attains maturity in twenty years, and is then about three feet in girth at the base, and yields some twenty-five pounds of catechu. The quantity of catechu imported into Great Britain in 1874-5 was 191,891 cwt., three-fourths of which came from Burma.

A lac manufactory has lately been started at Rangoon, and both shellac and dye of excellent quality are prepared.

The Burmese have a great love for bells and gongs, and are very clever in casting them. The largest bell in the world, with the exception of the one presented by the Empress Anne to the Moscow Cathedral, was cast at Mengoon in 1796 for the pagoda then building there by the King. It is 12 feet high, with an external diameter at the lip of 16 feet 3 inches, and weighs 90 tons, or some fourteen times heavier than the great bell of St. Paul's. Their gongs, varying in size from 3 feet to 3 inches, have a much finer and deeper tone than Chinese ones; and a triangular

one, peculiar to Burma, and used on "worship days" by the people on their way to the pagodas, which spins round when struck, has a very remarkable sound, maintained in prolonged surging musical vibrations.

The population of British Burma in 1875-76, was 3,010,662, and the gross revenue receipts, imperial, provincial, and municipal, amounted to £2,004,813; giving an incidence of taxation of 13*s.* 3¾*d.* per head. The expenditure on the Provincial Civil Administration was £675,935; and after payment of all Local and Municipal charges, a surplus was left of £1,112,019, available for Military and Public Works, and for a share of the cost of the Central Government.

The total number of vessels entered and cleared at the ports of the province, was 2551, of an aggregate burthen of 1,164,615 tons. The value of the seaborne and inland exports, was £7,208,896, and imports £6,159,925, total* £13,368,821: and this with a population of only a little over three millions! If the commerce of India bore the same proportion to population, it would be ten times greater than it is:—that is to say, it would be about nine hundred and fifty millions, instead of ninety-five. British Burma also contrasts favourably with

* To Great Britain:—Exports, £2,944,122. Imports, £1,225,746. Total, £4,169,868.

India, in the value of the imports being much nearer to that of the exports.

It may therefore be hoped that this province, which, in all reasonable probability, has a greater future before it than any country in Asia, may meet from the Government of India the care its importance deserves; and that every attention be paid towards facilitating its further development.

CHAPTER VII.

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE INHABITANTS OF BURMA, AND OF THE NEIGHBOURING HILL TRIBES.

Burma inhabited by separate and distinct tribes of the Mongoloid type.—Their mutual affinity.—Not autochthonous.—Migration of Món and Shan tribes.—Radical affinity of the Talaing language with the Mónda or Kól.—The portions of country occupied by the Burmese and Talaing races.—Origin of the Burmese race.—They claim descent from Gautama and the Sakya race.—Derivation of the word Burma.—Three tribes described in the Radza-weng as inhabiting the upper valley of the Irawadi.—King Abhiradza and his two sons.—Disputed succession to the throne.—The younger son succeeds to the throne.—The elder one emigrates to Arakan and becomes King of that country.—Description of the different tribes of Karens.—A Karen monkey feast.—Ceremonies observed at the burial of their dead.—The Sgau most numerous of the Karen tribes.—The Pwo Karens.—The Bghai tribes.—Divided into six clans.—The Karennee the dominant one.—Western and eastern Karennee.—The former well disposed towards the British Government, the latter always held aloof.—Effective guarantee required from the Burmese Government against all interference with Western Karennee.—Boundary laid down between Burma and Western Karennee.—Boundary described.—Dress of the Karennees.—Interment of their dead.—Passion for large metal drums.—The Toung-thoos.—Their supposed origin.—Ancient city of Thatún.—The Let-hta tribe.—Hill tribes westward of the Irawadi basin.—The Munipúris.—Game of Polo.—The Naga tribes.—Kowpöee tribe.—Curious practice on death of a wife.—The Tunkhúl tribe.—Their marriage customs and "full dress."—The Khyengs.—Tatooed faces of the females of this tribe.—All hill tribes of Ultra-India bear great similarity to each other.—Their barbarous philosophy.—Feticism of the Bghais.

THE extensive area of British and Independent Burma is inhabited by many separate and distinct tribes of the Mongoloid type, differing in language, and often in their religion, manners, and customs;

but all betraying evident indications of mutual affinity, and their dispersion from one common centre—the great seed plot of Central Asia. The most important of these are the Burmese, Mon or Talaing, Arakanese, Shan, Laos, or Anam, and Karen. At the time of the first Burmese war with the British in 1825-26, and for some time previous, the predominant race, and to which all others, more or less, were subject, was the Burmese.

None of these tribes appear to be autochthonous, or to have any reliable traditions of their arrival. Pritchard, in his "Natural History of Man," vol. i. p. 229, says "the vast region of Asia, forming the south-eastern corner of that continent, which reaches on the sea border, from the common mouth of the Ganges, and the Brahma-pútra to the Hoang-ho or Yellow river of China, and even further northward towards the mouth of the Amúr or Saghalien, is inhabited by races of people who resemble each other so strongly in moral and physical peculiarities, and in the general character of their languages, as to give rise to a suspicion that they all belong to one stock. With the rivers which descend from the high country of Central Asia, and from their diverging waters on all sides, after traversing extensive regions of lower elevation, into the remote ocean, these nations also appear to have come down, at various periods, from the south-eastern border of

the Great Plateau; in different parts of which tribes are still recognised who resemble them in features and language."

According to Mr. J. R. Logan's theory,* the first migration was that of the Mon and Shan tribes, and who, on a succeeding great migration† from Tibet—that of the proper Tibeto-Burman tribes—appear to have been gradually pressed by them to the eastward and southward. The structural and glossarial characters of the languages of the Mon and Shan, show that, in the first era of their dispersion, they must have occupied a part of Bengal, and had a close intercourse with aboriginal Indian tribes of the north-east Monda or Kól family. This infallible test of language, as regards the Mon or Talaings particularly, has been also confirmed by Dr. Mason,‡ who states that the Talaing language has a radical affinity with the Kól. "The first six numerals, the personal pronouns, the words for several members of the body, and many objects of nature, are unquestionably of the same origin; while many other words bearing a more remote

* "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," vol. ii.

† I adopt the spelling of "Tibet," instead of "Thibet," in conformity with Schlagintweit, Hodgson, Schmidt, Foucaux, Csoma Korasi, &c. The word Tibet, according to Schlagintweit, has resulted from the combination of the two Tibetan words *Thub* and *Phod*, both meaning "to be able." A King of the seventh century is said to have first made use of this name; at present, however, Bhod-gul, "territory of the Bhod," is the only name given by the inhabitants to the country.

‡ Mason's "Burma," pp. 130–134.

resemblance, are probably derived from the same roots." The Chinese, the Burmese, the Karen, and all the known languages of Ultra India, including the Assamese, use numeral affixes; while the Talaing language stands alone, and like Occidental tongues, unites the numeral to the noun. While in Chinese, and in all Indo-Chinese languages, the numeral is united to an affix. A singular noun in Kól is made plural by affixing kaú; and in Talaing by taú. The ancient name of the Kóls, Monda, is almost identical with Mon,* the name by which the Talaings call themselves.

The evidence, too, of physical appearance shows an intermixture of race, for the Talaings are taller, have more elegant figures, and a darker skin than the pure Mongoloid races. It is a curious fact, also, that the figures in basso-rilievo on the terra-cotta tiles of the ancient pagoda at Thatún, show the

* Csoma de Koros in his Tibetan dictionary, defines Mon by a general name for the hill people between the plains of India and Tibet. The term Talaing, by which the Mon are now generally known, was given to them by the Burmese. It is not an Indo-Chinese word, and Sir Arthur Phayre thinks it is probably derived from the word Telinga, and hence it appears that the tribes of the upper Irawadi, separated during long ages from the kindred tribes to the south of them, only came to know the Mon after these latter had settlements of Telingas on their coast. These people, being great traders, no doubt extended their commerce into the interior, and hence the name, easily changed into *Talaing*, came to be given to the whole population. The same result of a partial knowledge of a leading race may still be seen. Until comparatively of late years, the Burmese mixed up English and all Europeans with the natives of India in the one common appellation of Kuláh or western foreigners; and it is only since the war with the British of 1825-26 that they have learnt to distinguish the more prominent of the nations lying west of them."

Talaings wearing in olden times their hair tied in a knot at the back of the head, like some of the Indian aboriginal tribes, instead of well forward on the top of it, as is their modern practice. The Talaings occupy the deltas of the Irawadi, Sittang, and Salween rivers, the sway of which, owing to the civilization and wealth derived by their insular position, they long successfully contested with the Burmese. "They preceded the Siamese in Tenasserim, and at one time appear to have occupied the basin of the Menam river also, and to have marched and intermixed with the closely-allied Cambojans of the lower Mie-kong." *

The Burmese race, from the earliest periods with which we are acquainted, have occupied, with the exception of intervals when they were driven from portions of their territory in contests with the Chinese, Shans, and Talaings, the same part of the basin or middle region of the Irawadi and its tributaries, where they now are: say from about lat. 24° 30′ to lat. 18°, namely, the lower basin of the Irawadi, above the delta of Pegu, the southern part of the upper basin, and the valley of the river beyond as far as Bhamo. At one period of its history the Burmese Empire extended as far as Momein,† in western Yunan; but it attained its greatest expan-

* "Journal of Indian Archipelago," vol. ii.

† Burney, "As. Soc. Journ.," vol. vi., p. 122.

sion in 1823, when it embraced the conquered kingdoms of Pegu, Arakan, and Tenasserim, and the whole valleys of Assam, Cachar, and Munnipúr.

As regards the origin of the Burmese, Pritchard considers them as an offset from the great nomadic races of high Asia, probably from the *Bhotya*,* who occupy the southern margin of the great central upland, which conjecture is confirmed by Mr. B. H. Hodgson,† who observes that "one type of language prevails from the Kali to the Kuladan, and from Ladakh to Malacca, so as to bring the Himalayans, Indo-Chinese, and Tibetans into one family." Great rivers in their downward course have generally formed the high roads of nations, and the Burmese, descending from the vast steppe lands of central Asia, may have struck the sources of the Irawadi, and thus reached its upper valley. They invent a story, as I have stated in a previous chapter, of their being descended from Gautama and the Sakya race.

The Siamese,‡ in like manner, boldly tack on and group their ancestors around the first disciples of Gautama, and commence their annals about five centuries before the Christian era. It is curious to

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist. A. Cunningham's "Ladák," p. 290.

† "As. Soc. Journ." No. 1 of 1853, p. 3.

‡ Bowring's "Siam," vol. i., p. 35.

observe, too, that the Lamas,* when the Mongols proper adopted their religion, desired to flatter them by tracing their reigning house to that of Tibet, and through it to Sakya-muni himself.

Sir Arthur Phayre is of opinion† that the Burmese adopted their present appellation since they became united with other cognate tribes under one powerful chief, and shortly after their conversion from a religion of naturalism and Shamanism to Buddhism. He considers that Burma is derived from the Pali word Brah-ma, signifying celestial beings; and that it "need not cause surprise that a people should have assumed a foreign term as a national designation." "With their religious instructors they received knowledge of every kind. The districts of their country were named after the countries of their teachers. Even their great river, known in the vernacular as Myeet-gyee, received an equiva-

* Khubilai Khan was the first of the Mongol Khakans to definitely abandon Shamanism and to adopt Buddhism as the state religion, an example which was followed by many Mongols. The Buddhist priests were called Lamas by the Mongols, and in January, 1261, Khubilai promoted a young man, called Mati Dhwadsha, more widely known by his title Pakba Lama or Supreme Holy Lama. He was born at Sazghia, in Tibet, and belonged to one of its best families, that of the Tsukoans, who had for more than six centuries furnished ministers to the Kings of Tibet and other western princes, and by his wisdom, &c., won the confidence of Khubilai, who not only made him Grand Lama, but also temporal sovereign of Tibet, with the title of King of the Great and Precious Law and Institutor of the Empire. Such was the origin of the Grand Lama. Howorth's "Hist. of the Mongols," p. 220. Gaubil, 137. De Mailla, ix., p. 287.

† Sir Arthur Phayre's Paper on the origin of the Burmese race, published in the "As. Soc. Journ.," No. 1, 1864, and which I have largely drawn on for my information regarding the Burmese race.

lent term in Pali—Era-wa-ti; and their capital city always has a Pali name."

No mention is made by the Burmese in the Maha-radza-weng of early struggles with the people of the country on their first arrival. But we learn from these "Chronicles," that there were, at an early period, three tribes in the upper valley of the Irawadi, the Kan-ran, Pyoo, and Thek tribes, who appear to have been the progenitors of the Burmese nation; and it is possible from the names of his two sons, the elder named Kan-radza-gyee, and the younger Kan-radza-ngay, that the chief who united them was the head of the Kan-ran tribe, and the Abhi-radza of Burmese tradition, who founded the Burmese monarchy at Tagoung, which flourished there under a succession of Kings, until it was overthrown by an invasion from China, when the Burmese retreated down the Irawadi, and founded the city of Tha-re-Khe-te-ya near the modern Prome. The long line of Kings, thirty-two in number, who are said in these annals to have succeeded Abhi-radza at Tagoung, and the early date given for the founding of Tha-re-Khe-te-ya in the year 59 of the sacred epoch or era of Gautama, corresponding with 485 B C., must, however, be treated as fiction, and influenced by the source from whence they obtained their religion, has been evidently invented to fit in with their story of India

being the cradle of their race, their descent from the Sakya race, and ancient Kings of Kap-pi-la-wot.

After the death of Abhi-radza the succession to the throne is said to have been disputed by his two sons, the younger of whom succeeded by a stratagem * in obtaining the throne; when the elder proceeded with his followers across the Yoma-toung range of mountains into Arakan, where he married the two daughters of the Queen of the Mrú tribe—the then dominant tribe in that country—made Dhingya-wati his capital, and founded the second † dynasty of that city.

* From the chronological table of the Kings of Arakan, taken from the Rakhoing-maha-radza-weng, and given by Sir Arthur Phayre in his Paper on the History of Arakan, published in vol. viii. of the A. S.'s Jl. 1844, p. 47, a previous line of no less than fifty-one Arakanese Kings is given, called the *first* Dhi-ngya-wati dynasty, and who commenced to reign 2666 B.C. !

† The following is an account of the Burmese emigration from Central India, of the founding and history of the city of Tagoung, and of the stratagem by which the younger son of Abhi-radza obtained the throne, as given in the third volume of the Burmese Maha-radza-weng. Long before the appearance of Gautama, a King of *Kauthala* (Kosala, Oude) and Pínjalarít (Punjab), desiring to be connected by marriage with the King of Kauliya, sent to demand a daughter, but receiving a refusal on the ground of his being of an inferior race, he declared war, and destroyed the three cities of Kauliya, Dewadaha, and Kappílawot, which were governed by the Sakya race of Kings. These cities were afterwards restored, and the Sakya line re-established; but on the occasion of the above disaster, one of the Sakya race of Kings, Abhi-radza, the King of Kappílawot, retired with his troops and followers from Central India, and came and built Tagoung, which was then also styled Thengat-tha-ratha, and Thengat-tha-nago. Here had stood a city in the times of the three preceding Buddhas. In the time of Kekkuthan it was called Thanthaya púra, in that of Gounágoun, Ratha púra, and in that of Katthaba, Thendwé. On the death of King Abhi-radza, his two sons Kan-radza-gyee and Kan-radza-ngay disputed the throne, but agreed, by the advice of their respective officers, to let the question be decided by the result of a rivalry in good works, and not of war. It was arranged that each should commence to construct an *alhoo múndát* or religious building on the same night,

From this King and his followers, the present race of Arakanese believe themselves to be derived, and from being descended from the elder branch of the Burmese nation, they style themselves *Brama-gree*, or the great Burmese. The Arakanese are undoubtedly of the same stock as the Burmese, and as the traditions of both agree on the main points, there may possibly be some truth in this legend of their descent.

There are several tribes of Karens all differing, somewhat, in their social and domestic practices; but united by the common bond of one language, though spoken in widely different dialects. In a previous chapter (Chap. III.) I have given a brief description of some of the traditions and religious ideas of this interesting people. They may be divided into three distinct tribes, the Sgau, Pwo, and Bghai—each of which are again sub-divided into several separate clans.

The Sgau tribes are found from Mergui in Lat. 12°, to Prome and Toungoo in about 19° N. Lat. On the east a few have wandered over the water-

and he whose building should be found completed by the morning should take the throne. The younger brother used planks and bamboos only, and covered the whole with white cloth, to which, by a coat of white-wash, he gave the appearance of a finished building. At dawn of day, Kan-radza-gyee, the elder brother, seeing the other's being completed, collected his troops and followers, descended the Irawadi as far as the mouth of the Khyengdweng river, and then crossed over the Yoma-toung range of mountains, and established a monarchy in Arakan.

shed that separates the Meenam from the Salween to the eastward of Zimmay, and on the west portions of them have migrated into Arakan. They may be distinguished from the other Karen tribes by their dress, a long white frock, or night-shirt-looking garment with loose sleeves, embroidered at the lower extremities with red horizontal parallel bands, and wearing round the waist a cloth similar in shape to that worn by the Burmese. The hair they wear long, and bound into a knot on the top of the head, with often a rakish twist to one side. They are fair in complexion, and when young are often good looking; but the Mongolian roundness of their faces, which in youth gives an innocent and pleasing air, often imparts an inane, heavy expression in after years.

In common with most of the less civilized of the Mongolian races they are very foul feeders. No animal food comes amiss with them, they eat vermin such as rats, and reptiles such as lizards and snakes. There is a black monkey with a white ring round the eyes (*Semnopithecus obscurus*) found in considerable numbers in the jungles, and which they consider as a great delicacy. Colonel Tickell, when on a tour in the interior of Amherst district, thus describes a Karen monkey feast of which he was eye-witness. "At breakfast we were heartily sickened by seeing the Karens devour the raw bloody

body and entrails of a monkey I had shot. They swallowed the intestines 'au naturel,' like macaroni!*

All the Sgau tribes and the Pwo proper burn their dead. A bone is taken from the ashes—the back bone is chosen if not calcined—and preserved, and after the lapse of a few months a feast is prepared in honour of the deceased, after which the bone is buried. The bone, when the feast is made, is placed in the centre of a large booth erected for the purpose, and around it are hung the articles belonging to the deceased. A torch is placed at the head, and another at the foot, to represent the morning and evening stars, which they say are spirits going to Hades with lights in their hands; and around the whole a procession marches singing dirges, of which the following is a specimen:—

"Mother's daughter is proud of her beauty;
Father's son is proud of his beauty:
He calls a horse, a horse comes;
On the beautiful horse, with a small back,
He gallops away to the silver city.
O son of Hades, intensely we pity thee,
Panting with strong desire for the tree of life.

The Jambu fruit, the Jambu fruit hangs drooping o'er the lake;
Red Jambu flowers, red Jambu flowers, hang drooping o'er the lake;

* This quotation, and those immediately following, are taken from Dr. Mason's "Burma," chapter on Ethnology, to which those who may wish to pursue this subject further can refer.

Should seeds of the tree of life still exist,
Then man awakes up from death in Hades,
O son of Hades, intensely we pity thee,
Panting with strong desire for the tree of life."

The Sgaus, who are sometimes called Burmese Karens, appear to be the most numerous of all the Karen tribes, and those of them who reside in the plains are, comparatively speaking, good farmers. In my old district of Bassein they formed the great bulk of the agricultural population.

Villages of the Pwo tribes, who prefer the banks of creeks for their houses, are found scattered along the coast from Mergui up to and within the deltas of the Salween, Sittang, and Irawadi rivers. They are very muscular, powerful men, form capital boatmen, and are considered to have more "stay" in them than any other race in the country, Burmese or otherwise. Before our conquest of Pegu, under their different Pé-nengs, they often carried off the first prizes at the royal boat races at the capital. From their residing principally in the deltas of the above large rivers—the country of the Talaings—they are called by the Burmese Talaing Karens. Their dress is similar to that of the Sgaus, except that the embroidery on their long gowns is much wider, and formed in different patterns and colours; and that several of the clans of this tribe wear short trousers reaching half way down the thigh.

Their creed nominally is Buddhism, though they still retain many of the forms and practices of Shamanism.

The Bghai tribes are divided into six clans, the dominant one of which is the Karennee or red Karen; so called by the Burmese from the colour of the bright red turban they wear; though they call themselves Kă-ya, their term for man. They inhabit the elevated plateau of Karennee (the name is equally applied to the country and to the inhabitants) extending from the eastern slope of the Poung-loung range, immediately joining our territories on the north-east, to the right bank of the Salween river. It consists chiefly of high table-land about 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, is well cultivated, and in parts very fertile.

The red Karens originally acknowledged the supremacy of one Chieftain; but within the last hundred years have split into two separate tribes, Western and Eastern Karennees. Since our occupation of British Burma, the former tribe has been most friendly disposed towards the English Government, and has given every assistance in its power in keeping peace on the frontier, and opening out trade; while the latter has kept entirely aloof from all communication with us, and has lately acknowledged the suzerainty of the Burmese Government.

In 1864 Khay-pho-gyee, the old chief of Western Karennee, requested the British Government to undertake the government and protection of his country; but was informed that though the British Government placed the highest value on the friendship of Western Karennee, and which it trusted would always be maintained, it had no desire to extend its frontier in that direction. On the death of the old chief in 1869, this request was renewed by his two sons, on the ground that the Burmese were making encroachments on their territory, as well as Eastern Karennee, and that they would have finally to succumb unless the British Government interfered. A similar answer to the first was returned, with the addition, however, that the Burmese Government would be urged not to interfere in the internal affairs of their country, and informed that it was the wish of the British Government that Western Karennee should retain its existing independence and nationality.

A representation was made accordingly to the Burmese Government, and, notwithstanding a formal disclaimer on its part of any claim to authority over Western Karennee, and an assurance that the wishes of the British Government should be scrupulously respected, a subsequent course of menace and assumption of sovereignty over this Hill State obliged our government in 1875 to exact a more

effective guarantee; and after sundry negotiations had taken place with the King of Burma, an expedition was despatched under the orders of the Government of India to survey and lay down a boundary between Western Karennee and Burma, which has been formally recognised by all parties, and the automony of Western Karennee secured.

This boundary extends from our eastern limit twelve miles to Sauau (see map), a hill in 19° 23′ 30″ N. Lat., and 96° 53′ E. Long., and thence carried on in about the same parallel of latitude to Preusok, a hill in 97° 3′ 20″ E. Long. It then proceeds zig-zag to a point on the Nampay river, in 97° 14′ E. Long. and 19° 41′ 30″ N. Lat., leaving a tract* of Eastern Karennee, some thirty miles in breadth and sixty in depth, running like a wedge between Western Karennee and Siam into British territory.

The Karennees wear generally the shan, or common Chinese jacket, and short dark blue trousers with perpendicular narrow white stripes.

* This tract of country is of some considerable political as well as strategical importance. The boundary line should doubtless have been extended eastward to the right bank of the Salween river, the boundary with Siam, and to which the Burmese Government having given way as regards Western Karennee, would have raised no further objection. A somewhat similar mistake was made some time ago, I believe, by the Calcutta Foreign Office regarding the frontier of Afghanistan, but was fortunately discovered by the India Office in time to be rectified.

The dress of the female sex is formed of rectangular pieces of red or blue cloth, and is very picturesque. The gown or jacket is worn like a Roman toga, tied by the two corners on the right shoulder, with the left arm drawn out above the garment. The petticoat is wrapped twice round the person, and kept in its place by a broad belt embroidered with cowry shells. They wear large silver bangles on the wrists and ankles, and numerous strings of silver coins, and coloured glass beads on the neck. The head-dress is composed of cloth of the same colours, and wound round and round the head so as to form a tower-like object.

For the interment * of their dead, a small grove is reserved near each village, and in the deep foliage of the underwood small miniature houses are seen, upon which hang suspended the baskets, implements of agriculture and household use, and fresh offerings of pumpkins, heads of maize and millet, and the never-failing gourd shell, which contained the intoxicating beverage (Koung-yé, fermented liquor of rice and millet) of the departed. In addition to the articles of daily use when alive, portions of the arms and valuables (gold or silver ornaments) of the deceased are buried with the body. They do not make any human or other sacrifices at the grave, like their Mongol ancestors, and some of the Tibeto-Burman

* "Journal of a Tour in Karennee," by Mr. E. O'Riley, 1856.

tribes even of the present day, the Kúrkí and Gāro; but on the interment of a chief, a slave and a pony are secured near the grave, and, although bound with the ostensible purpose of preventing escape, they invariably release themselves from their bonds and escape; the slave in such cases regaining freedom from all previous claims.

Throughout the whole of the tribes* of the mountain races, included between the Salween and Sittang rivers, and especially the Karennees, a passion predominates for the possession of large metal drums, formed in the shape of a hollow cylinder, closed at one end, called kyee-dzees. To such an extent does it operate, that instances are by no means rare of their bartering their children for them.

A superstition, common to many mountain tribes, that the deep sounding note of a monotoned instrument propitiates the presiding deities of the mountains, and averts evil from them, is a reasonable enough cause for such a propensity to possess them, and those clans or families who have the greatest number are regarded as the more powerful. In all their gatherings, whether for peaceful enjoyment, or preparatory to an expedition to settle some inter-tribal blood-feud, the kyee-dzees are brought forth and beaten, and as the sound echoes back from the

* "Journal of a Tour in Karennee," by Mr. E. O'Riley, 1856.

deep gorges of the mountain glens, they regard it as the approving answer of the spirit.

This branch of Karens is supposed to have been the earliest of these tribes, who made their appearance in Ultra India, and according to their own traditions, they preceded the Burmese as the dominant people in the Irawadi basin. Their dialect of the Karen language has been pronounced by Mr. J. R. Logan to be a distinct and very ancient one of the Yuma family.*

The Toung-thoos (hill-folk),† are a cognate race with the Karens. Their language has the greatest affinity with the Pwo Karen. Their chief village is Thatún, and sporadic villages of them are scattered along the banks of the Salween and Sittang, and even amongst the Karennees, and the Shan States as far as Moné.

* "Journal of the Indian Archipelago," vol. ii., p. 76.

† Captain Foley, from their habits, customs, and personal appearance, believes the Toung-thoos to be a remnant of the *Tanjous or Huns;* and quotes the following extract from chap. xxvi. of "Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" in support of his opinion:—"One of the princes of the nation (Hun) was urged, by fear and ambition, to retire towards the south with eight hordes, which composed between forty and fifty thousand families, and he obtained, under the title of *Tanjou*, a convenient territory on the verge of the Chinese Empire (A.D. 48)." "Journal As. Society, Bengal," 1836, p. 813.

I think, myself, it is possible that both they and the Karen tribes may be descendants of dispersed hordes of the Huns. To check the incursions of the Huns, the great wall of China was constructed in the third century, B.C.; but two centuries later their pride and power was humbled and curbed by Vouti, the fifth Emperor of the powerful Hân dynasty, and before the expiration of the first century, A.D., was utterly broken and destroyed as far as the eastern world was concerned. See De Guignes, "Hist. des Huns," p. 189, tom. i.; p. 21—144, tom. ii.

Their habits are curiously wandering. They till but little land: most families having no land under cultivation beyond a garden. The men of every family proceed generally, at least once a year, on distant expeditions, ostensibly for "trade and barter,"—but really often on predatory excursions. They always go well armed, and are a bold and independent race. They are short and squat in figure, with features of the Mongolian type—but much coarser; and their complexion is more swarthy than those of the neighbouring races.

The name Toung-thoo was given to this race by the Burmese. It has been generally adopted, and held now to mean *hill people.* The word Toung, in the Burmese language, however, means both a hill, and south; and the Toung-thoos say that the Burmese, emigrating from the north, found them at Tha-tún, that is to say, to the south of them, and hence called them *southern people,* which was the original meaning of the term, and not *hill people.* They call themselves Pan-you, (not unlike Tan-jou, see footnote to preceding page). They claim Thatún as their ancient capital, and declare that its name is derived from *Tha-too,* the word for laterite in their language, and of which mineral the hills in the vicinity of this old city chiefly consist.

Thatún is situated about thirty miles north of Martaban, and was originally a port; but which it

has long ceased to be, from the silting of the Sittang, Beeling, and Salween rivers, or upheaval of the land. It is the city to which Asoka, in B.C. 308, sent two Buddhist missionaries, named Oo-tara and Thauna, to carry "the glad tidings" of the religion of the conqueror (Jina). The city was sacked and burnt by Anaurata, King of Pagan, A.D. 1080, and after that never recovered its importance.

The foundations of the walls of the old city can still be traced. They appear to have enclosed an area of about 800 acres. Within this space, and still in good preservation, is a large, ancient, square, three-storied pagoda, built of laterite blocks, with a circular pagoda of the present prevailing type crowning its third story, and evidently of modern date. The general form of the old portion of the pagoda is not unlike the square temples at Pagan, and has a flight of steps on each face. There are other smaller pagodas of similar description, but in a state of ruin, with the exception of some which have been *restored* after the modern manner.

Mr. E. O'Riley, in the report of his second Mission to Karennee, on which I despatched him in 1863-64, mentions the existence there of a tribe whom he considers the most interesting of the hill races which exist in that region. They call themselves Let-htas, but are known to the Burmese by the name of Goung-dhō, from their custom of wearing the hair

short, with a pendant lock from each temple. The account given by him of their appreciation of moral goodness, and the purity of their lives, as compared with the semi-civilised tribes amongst whom they dwell, almost savours of romance. The tribe appears to be a small one, and occupies the country to the north-west of Mobyay, called the twelve hills of Levay Loung.

According to Mr. O'Riley, they differ widely in form of feature and of skull from the neighbouring tribes. Their language is much more guttural—and he thinks "they may be a branch of the old Leythee families, represented at the present day by the Kalmuks, and wandering tribes of the Keirgheish; and this is more likely from the heavy eyelid nearly closing the eye, the retreating forehead, and elongated shape of the skull."

Until married, the youths of both sexes are domiciled in two long houses at opposite ends of the village, and when they may have occasion to pass each other, they avert their gaze, so they may not see each other's faces. A strange feature of their social system, is that of self-immolation. Their sense of shame is said to be so acute, that on being accused of any evil act by several of the community, the person so accused retires to some secluded spot, there digs his grave and strangles himself.

To the westward of the Irawadi basin, the confused masses of mountains, forest-covered spurs, and grassy uplands starting southwards from the great Assam Himalayan chain, in about 25° 40′ N. Lat., and between 93° and 95° E. Long., and contracting into the Arakan Yoma-toung range, which sinks into the sea at Pagoda Point, at the mouth of the Bassein river, are inhabited by innumerable tribes of the Tibeto-Burmese type, known as Munipúri, or Meithei, Naga, Kúki, Gāro, Looshai, Khyeng, and other various specific names. Of these the most highly civilized and important race is the Munipúri, who occupy the level alluvial valley of Munipúr, and adjacent hill-country, lying between 24° 30′, and 25° 60′ N. Lat., and 93° 10, and 94° 50′ E. Long.

The name for the Munipúr valley, amongst the people themselves, is "Meithei laipak," or Country of the Meithei; and, from their traditions, the valley appears to have been originally occupied by the Koomul, Looang, Moirang, and Meithei tribes, the latter of whom ultimately gained the supremacy, and its name was adopted as representing the whole.

Their written history has only been composed since they were converted to Hinduism, during the reign of their Rajah, Gurreeb Nawaz, about 1750 A.D., and in it, following and mixing up the history

and fables of their religious teachers with their own traditions, as is the case with the Burmese and others formerly described, they claim a Western or Hindu descent, for which there is no foundation whatever. Their language is a dialect of that of the surrounding tribes, and their physical and other characteristics are also similar; with the exception that their original Mongolian features have become somewhat modified by intermixture with the Bengali inhabitants of the adjacent districts of Cachar and Sylhet.

The Munipúr valley was invaded and occupied by the Burmese in 1819, and Cachar in 1824. In the latter year, on the breaking out of the first Burmese war, we drove the Burmese out of Cachar, and the Munipúris, on being furnished with arms, expelled them from Munipúr. The final independence of Munipúr was secured by the treaty of Yandabo, at the conclusion of the war in 1826; and in 1835 an English officer was appointed there as Political Agent, to reside at the Raja's court for "the purpose of preserving a friendly intercourse, and as a medium of communication with the Munipúr Government." Since the Munipúris have adopted the Hindu religion, their customs and ceremonies differ in no important particulars from the neighbouring Bengali Hindus.

Their great national game is "Polo," lately become so popular in England, where it was first

introduced by the 9th Lancers on their return from India. When the Duke of Edinburgh visited India in 1870, a party of Munipúris, in their national costume, with their ponies, were sent for from Munipúr to Calcutta, and played their game in his presence. The mode in which they play the game is well described by Dr. R. Brown, the Political Agent in Munipúr, in his annual report to the Indian Government for 1868-69, and which I will transcribe at length.

"The traditions of Munipúr have it that the game of polo or hockey on horseback, was introduced by a Raja named Vakungba, who flourished about 1570 A.D. According to some, the introduction is given as late as the reign of Gurreeb Nawaz about 120 years ago. The game, it is said, has not altered since that time, and as it is now so generally understood, I will describe it but briefly. In the more important games as played in Munipúr, seven on either side is considered the correct number, but, in ordinary games, any number may play.

"As might be expected, in the place of its birth * the play is much superior to what can be seen

* I believe "Polo" to be an old Tatar game, and no doubt a legacy to the Munipúris from their Mongol ancestors. They are certainly very expert at the game, and have their plucky little ponies admirably "well in hand;" but I think, nevertheless, that the players of Hurlingham and Lillie Bridge would be a match for them.

elsewhere; it is much faster, and the hits are delivered with greater precision. The games are always started from the centre of the ground, by the ball being thrown into the middle of the players; it is frequently struck before reaching the ground. The pace is kept fast from the commencement of the game, and such a thing as a player being allowed to spoon a ball along before delivering his stroke is unknown; an attempt at this kind of play would result in the ball being at once taken away by a stroke from one of the opposite party. When an evening's play has commenced, the games succeed each other quickly; so soon as the ball is driven to goal, the players hurry back to the centre of the ground, and a fresh game is begun. When a ball is sent off the ground to either side, it is flung as at starting, among the players, opposite the point of exit.

"The Munipúr riding costume for the game is a dhotie well tucked up, and a pair of thick woollen gaiters, reaching from the ankle to the knee; a whip is carried in the left hand suspended from the wrist, to allow free motion of the hand. The saddle is furnished with curved flaps of enamelled leather suspended from the sides opposite the stirrups, and stirrup leathers. The ball used is made of bamboo root and is tough and light. The clubs have handles of well-seasoned cane; the

angular striking part is of heavy wood. As might be expected, a good polo pony is a valuable animal, and is parted with reluctantly. All classes, from the Raja, who is a good player, down, play the game, and an unusually good player is sure of royal favour."

The Naga* tribes are divided into several sections. Each village, again, of these separate clans, has its own chief, and peculiar patriarchal style of government apart from the others; there being no central authority to whom they acknowledge allegiance. They are powerful and warlike tribes, and, unlike most of the other hill races, do not shift the sites of their villages, which often contain a thousand houses, and upwards, and are well fortified by stone walls, ditches, and stockades. The most numerous of them appear to be the Angami tribe, who are said to number some 60,000. They possess a greater regularity in feature than most of the other Naga tribes, and their facial characteristics, Dr. Brown considers, resemble strongly those of the Maoris of New Zealand. They are generally tall, broad shouldered, and muscular, and their brawny lower limbs are peculiarly well developed.

Their origin as described by themselves is, "that

* The Nagas amongst themselves have no specific name; but use the tribal name as distinctive. Naga is supposed to be a word of reproach given them by the Aryan race, and to be derived from the Sanscrit word *Nanga*, naked. Others derive the word from *Nag*, a snake.—Dr. R. Brown.

in the olden times three men emerged from the Great lake in the Angami country, one remained on its borders and became an Angami, one went towards Cachar, and the remaining one towards Munipúr." The relations of the sexes are similar to those prevailing amongst these hill tribes generally, namely, that of great moral laxity before marriage, and the very opposite after it. "Marriage is entered upon by both sexes after they have arrived at full maturity, and, as a matter of inclination on both sides, as a rule." Adultery is considered a very serious offence. Its punishment is death to the male offender," and the female has her nose slit and hair cut off.

Amongst the Kowpōee tribe of Nagas, "on the death of a man's wife, the extraordinary practice exists of taking from her husband 'Mundoo' or 'the price of her bones.'" If he be alive, this will be demanded by her father; in default of the father, by the next of kin. If the wife's husband should die before the wife, the wife is taken by a brother of the deceased.

Another branch of the Nagas, the Tunkhúl or Loohúpa, whose powerful muscular appearance and extraordinary customs, I remember being very much struck with, when on a visit, in 1840, to my old friend the late Colonel Guthrie, R.E., who was engaged at the time in the superintendence of the

construction of the road from Cachar to Munipúr, on which large gangs of this tribe were employed. Their hair is worn in a very peculiar fashion. The sides of the head are shaven, having a ridge of hair on the top about five inches broad, narrowing to the front, as also behind where it ends in a small knotted pig-tail about three inches long.

The dress of the male is at all times very scanty indeed, their "full dress" consisting only of a narrow piece of cloth folded round the waist, and a small portion of it hanging down in front*; but clothing of any kind is dispensed with when they are engaged in any hard work. They have a most extraordinary habit, and as far as I know, a unique one, described in the footnote,† and which Dr. Brown thinks may

* There is a tribe in the Arakan hills, the end of whose scanty waist-cloth hangs *behind* them in similar manner, and they are called by the Burmese *Khwā-mie*, or monkey-tail.

† His gentibus mos est, meâ sententia singularis, iis—qui solis proprius. Annulum, a quartâ ad octavam partem unciæ latum, et ex cornu cervi vel ebore factum, glandem penis et præputium arcte comprimentem mares induĕre solent.

Hujus moris antiquissimi hoc est propositum, erectionem penis impedire; opinantibus quidem iis privata membra conspicienda præbere, nisi in tali conditione, rem non indecoram esse. Hanc opinionem audacissime in actu ostendunt, licet enim videre, in valle Munipúrensi, multos eorum congregatos, aut in femineis tabernis, aut in viis ad laborandum, ne vestigium quidem vestitûs indutos, quippe qui annulum modestiæ omnino satisfacere existiment.

Annulus iste a pubertatis ævo assumitur, et ad mortem geritur. Primo cum assumitur, magnus dolor complures per dies sentiri solet—sed premendo membri forma gradatim mutatur, et post aliquantum temporis annulus indui et exui facillime potest. Exuitur solum micturationis causâ, et ad noctem, et amplitudo ejus aliquando variatur, prout occasio poscit. Etsi modestia pro moris hujus origine sola causa affertur, significationem ulteriorem habuissi haud improbabile est; vide quod antea dictum est de harum gentium ritibus nuptialibus.

have been originated by some anxious parent to put off the evil day, resulting in the following custom, and which is also peculiar to this particular tribe.

"On the eldest son of a family marrying, the parents are obliged to leave their house with the remainder of their family, the son who has married taking two-thirds of the parents' property, not only of the household, but of his father's fields, &c. Occasionally, the parents are recalled and allowed to remain for some time, but eventually they have to leave, and the property is claimed and divided as above stated. When the parents are well off they provide a house beforehand. On the marriage of another son the same process is repeated, and may be again and again; but according to the usual custom the parents may, after the process has been repeated several times, return to the house of the eldest son. When a couple have a large family of sons who marry in succession, the poor people are often thus reduced to serious straits."

The Khyengs, or as they call themselves Shyú, are a widely diffused race, some sections of them inhabiting both British and Burmese territory, and others in the wild and unexplored parts of the hilly region, are altogether independent. They are remarkable for tattooing the faces of their women in

lines mostly describing segments of circles, and which, to the eye of an unaccustomed beholder, gives a hideous and demoniacal appearance. This operation is invariably performed on every female at a certain age, and the practice is said to have originated to prevent their being carried off in the raids of neighbouring tribes.

There can be no doubt of the ethnographical position of the hill tribes of Ultra-India; and, with the exception of a few prominent differences, such as I have noticed, they all bear great similarity to each other. It would be unprofitable, therefore, to devote more space to a record of further details, and I will conclude my notices of them with a few remarks on their religious conceptions, or "animism," as they have been styled.

Save where the light of Christianity has broken upon a few portions of the Karen tribes under the auspices of the American Baptist Mission, and the conversion in one instance to Hinduism, and in a few others to the Buddhist faith, the whole of these tribes still retain their ancient forms of debased spirit worship, namely: that of the "dii loci," the tutelary deities presiding over the elements, the mountains, streams, trees, or other objects, natural or artificial; that of the spirits of their ancestors, and those of wicked men; and that of evil beings, and malevolent influences.

In their barbarous philosophy, all objects, natural and artificial, animate or inanimate, have spirits, and are supposed to reside near the objects over which they preside, and to be co-existent with them. Without a spirit nothing could come into existence. These spirits are looked upon in the light of demons whose malevolence must be propitiated by supplications and offerings. They know of no Supreme Being from whom *voluntary mercy* can be expected. When the field is sown, the spirit of the rice field has to be satisfied, and again when the crop is reaped.

Man has a presiding spirit whose presence is necessary to his existence. During sleep it wanders abroad, and dreams are supposed to be what it sees during these wanderings. If it does not return the man sickens and dies. Like the Dyaks of Borneo (no doubt a cognate race), they "ascribe also a physical nature even to plants. They regard unhealthiness in a plant as a temporary absence of its *ego*, and when the rice perishes its spirit is said to have flown away."*

The Karens believe that "the spirits are ever abroad on the earth, and that nothing separates us from them but a white veil." Offerings of food are made to them, and it is supposed they can be communed with by certain gifted "medicine men"

* "The Races of Man," by Oscar Peschel, p. 245.

or mediums, who in their ravings and convulsions speak strange things in their name. The spirits of those who have died violent deaths are believed to be peculiarly malignant, and have to be laid with special ceremonies. Amongst the Kowpōee tribe of Nagas, a murdered man's soul receives that of his murderer in the spirit world and makes him his slave. Milton's lines, as quoted by Ellis regarding the Polynesians, are equally applicable to these tribes :

> "Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
> Unseen, both when we wake and when we sleep."

Offerings to stones * hold a prominent place in the feticism of the Bghais, and some other tribes. Every house among the Bghais has one or more

* "In all parts of the world stones seem to have attracted the devotion of man. It is not surprising that worship was often offered to meteorolites which, falling red hot, penetrated into the ground." "The black stone, the chief object of worship of Mahomedans in Mecca, is said to be an aërolite, and to have shone brightly at first, but very soon to have turned black on account of the sinfulness of man. It is undoubtedly a remnant of the fetish worship of the pre-Islam Arabs, as is also the stone built into the Mosque of Omar, at Jerusalem, which carried the prophet heavenwards and then fell down, or rather still hovers in the air." "The prophets of Israel and the devout Kings of Judah contended incessantly against the worship of the 'high places,' which were probably tall, pointed stones symbolical of the Most Holy. Even Jacob anointed the stone at Bethel on which he had rested. In Celtic Europe we find stone circles as places of worship, and also trilithic cromlechs or stone tables, which served either as places of sacrifice or for the faithful to crawl through. Even in A.D. 567 a Council at Tours was obliged to threaten excommunication against stone worship; and in England similar interdicts were issued in the seventh century by Theodoric, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the tenth, by King Edgar, and again in the eleventh by Canute." "The Races of Man," by Oscar Peschel, pp. 248, 249.

stones as household gods, to which blood offerings of a cock are made. They believe that "if they do not give them blood to eat, they will eat them." The play of colours seen in a precious stone, they deem the movements of the spirit that inhabits it.

END OF VOL I.

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